THE CONTRAST:

WITH

CORRECTIONS and RESTORATIONS.

And an INTRODUCTORY

DISSERTATION

On the ORIGIN of the

FEUDS and ANIMOSITIES

IN THE

S T A T E.

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TO THE

PATRIOTIC

COMMON COUNCIL

OF THE

Truly LOYAL and HONOURABLE

CITY of *LONDON:*

The conſtant Friends and Patrons of the VIRTUOUS;

The Never-failing Opponents to the WICKED and OPPRESSIVE;

The Zealous Supporters of the JUST PREROGATIVES of the CROWN;

The Watchful Guardians of the LIBERTIES of their FELLOW SUBJECTS;

Who have with Zeal and Affection faithfully ſerved the ILLUSTRIOUS HOUSE of HANOVER;

Who deteſt and abhor the very Name of STUART;

And who glory in their ſteady Attachment to REVOLUTION PRINCIPLES:

This VOLUME of the

CONTRAST

Is moſt humbly inſcribed, by their Sincere Admirer, and Obedient Servant,

London, April 13, 1765.

The AUTHOR.

A

DISSERTATION

On the ORIGIN of the

FEUDS and ANIMOSITIES

IN THE

STATE.

SO very limited and confined is human underſtanding; ſo uncertain the events of life; ſo great an impoſſibility from preſent circumſtances to determine the fate of an hour; that the moſt rational are perpetually deceived, when from apparent cauſes, they make imaginary decrees for futurity.

When our preſent, moſt excellent, and amiable ſovereign aſcended the throne, his piety, virtue, humanity and affection for the laws and liberties of his native country, made every individual ſuppoſe

peace and union among ourſelves, the certain conſequence of his various virtues. Though the moſt ſanguine ideas of his majeſty's good qualities have not in the leaſt degree fell ſhort, but rather the reality ſurpaſſed the imaginary; yet the great and deſirable, ſuppoſed natural conſequence, has intirely failed. So far from being happy and united, we have been torn with univerſal diſſentions. The almoſt forgotten names of whig and tory are again revived, and again ſets us at variance. The long dormant antipathy between the Engliſh and Scotch, appears with redoubled malevolence; and all things conſpire to ſhow, that our expected happineſs was a chimera.

The various cauſes of theſe ſtrange and moſt ſurpriſing effects, the diſſentions among the great, the clamours among the people, and the unſettled ſtate of the miniſtry, are deſigned for the ſubject of the following animadverſions; in which I will, with the greateſt freedom, ſet down my ſentiments unawed by every power

power, but the laws of God and my country.

During the late reign, the courts of St. James's and Leiceſter-houſe were as abſolutely ſeparate and unconnected as any two courts in Europe: and after the univerſally lamented death of his royal highneſs Frederick, prince of Wales, little or no attention was paid to the court at Saville-houſe. It was natural to ſuppoſe, that the miniſtry would have ſelected ſome of the moſt able, univerſally approved, and long tried patriots, to have been at the ear of the ſovereign in expectance. That in the young heir apparent's train, you would have found many of the moſt virtuous of the young nobility; that his connections might be formed with thoſe whoſe age promiſed their going with him through life; whoſe high hereditary ſtations and fortunes would always make them of the firſt importance; and whoſe mutual confidence with their ſovereign and the people, would render the reign glorious in itſelf,

happy to the king, and applauded by the people. But very different was the conduct of the late king's miniſtry, however unexceptionable the firſt appointment of the tuition was, when lord Harcourt was preceptor, and that excellent prelate Dr. Heater, tutor; yet their offices were of ſhort date, and their ſucceſſors by no means the choice of the people. We ſaw a peer in this great truſt, whoſe father was the firſt of the family converted from the errors of the church of Rome, and who before his death returned to them again. We ſaw in the inferior offices people, whoſe well-known, unconſtitutional principles, had long before marked them friends of that weak and wicked family, ſo juſtly doomed to exile. The other offices were filled as you fill an alms-houſe, becauſe they were unfit for public imploy, yet troubleſome enough to the miniſtry to procure their being ſilenced. If nothing elſe offered, they were provided for at Saville-houſe; and among other very improper

improper perſons were ſome, from that ſelf-applauding, intriguing nation, Scotland.

It was certainly the deſign, or the ſtrange inattention and folly of the people in power in the laſt reign, that furniſhed all the diſcontent in the preſent. That a whig miniſtry ſhould deſignedly ſelect tory connections for the heir apparent, ſeems prepoſterous: ſo that it muſt have proceeded from the intrigues of ſome of the confidants about the faithful, honeſt ſtateſman, the duke of Newcaſtle, who in his younger days, with ſuch an infatigable zeal, ſupported the Hanover ſucceſſion: when many of thoſe, at preſent, patronized, were fighting under the ſtandard of the houſe of Stuart. The faithful old duke had, among his moſt ſubſervient and apparently zealous friends, ſome Scotchmen, whoſe obſequiouſneſs and attention made him conceive them worthy of friendſhip, and fit for truſt; and they availing themſelves of this confidence, promoted their Scotch

friends to ſuch offices as they thought would ſecure their uſurped power for futurity. In this light it is eaſy to conceive how the Scotch became predominant at Saville-houſe, and how by private intrigue they laid the foundation of their preſent domain.

Among the Scots appointed to office about the heir apparent was a man, whoſe determined reſolution of oppoſing government, whether right or wrong, had juſtly excluded him from being one of the ſixteen peers, during the adminiſtration of Sir Robert Walpole: and who, after his excluſion, in diſguſt, had retired for ſome years to the Iſle of Bute, where, by converſing only with his vaſſals and dependants, he increaſed his natural reſerved and tyrannical diſpoſition, which had before rendered him ill-ſuited to the Engliſh. His good fortune, and his Scotch friends, procured him a very high office at Saville-houſe: the Scotch talent is to acquire favour, he applied himſelf to every ingratiating art, and he

ſucceeded

ſucceeded to the utmoſt of his wiſhes, becoming the favorite and excluſive ruler of that court.

The abſolute inattention of the miniſtry in the late reign to the tranſactions of Saville-houſe, gave every opportunity that could be deſired to the people in office, to ingratiate themſelves with their future ſovereign, and to prepoſſeſs him againſt the people at that time in power, and by whom they were promoted.

By theſe artifices were laid the foundations for the preſent ſquabbles. The officers at Saville-houſe had very early conceived a proſcription of the people in power, and the overthrow of the whig intereſt, and had determined at the old king's death, immediately to make the intended alterations. But unfortunately for the junto when our late excellent ſovereign died, we were not only engaged in a moſt important war, but had the moſt unexceptionable miniſtry that ever ruled in this country. A miniſtry appointed at the immediate interceſſion of

the people, when we were in the moſt abject and ruinous ſtate, and who had retrieved our misfortunes, and brought us from dejection to an exalted ſtation, that was not to have been conceived. This miniſtry was too well confirmed in the opinion of the people to be wantonly turned out. The war was the moſt extenſive that we had been ever ingaged in; the ſucceſſes were unparalleled; the people were united; the ſoldiery had ſuch intire confidence in the wiſdom of the ſtateſmen, that they with double indefatigability purſued their orders, never deſpairing of executing that in the field, which was planned with wiſdom in the cabinet. In this ſituation of affairs the proſcription was deferred. The moſt amiable prince that ever reigned over a free and affectionate people, was ſuffered to have the moſt unexceptionable miniſtry: the apprehenſion of a change of men and meaſures, that at firſt occaſioned ſome uneaſineſs, was ſoon diſſipated, and we were completely happy and united.

What

What farther contributed to make the Scotch and tory faction deſiſt from ſeizing the helm was the appearance of the approach of peace. Every man of underſtanding had very early foreſeen the making of peace a moſt arduous taſk. Our new acquired poſſeſſions were ſo numerous, that if they were not returned the enemy muſt be ruined: ſo it was certain they would not come into any accommodation till reduced to the utmoſt extremity, without the return of ſome of the moſt valuable; and it was equally certain, that after we had accumulated ſuch an enormous debt in the proſecution of the war, the people of this country, who with their blood and treaſure had obtained them, would expect ſome of the moſt important to be retained: for it was ſelf-evident, that if they were to be returned, we had injured ourſelves greatly by our ſucceſſes; we had loſt many thouſands of our valiant country-men; we had expended many, very many millions, and had greatly detrimented individuals,

viduals, who had been encouraged to ſettle at our conqueſts, had improved the eſtates, and could not leave them without vaſt injury to themſelves.

Though I am not writing a hiſtory of the times, only accounting for our feuds and animoſities, yet it will be neceſſary to give a ſketch of the memorable, unſucceſsful negociation for peace, carried on by Mr. Stanly at Paris, and M. Buſſy at London, in the adminiſtation of Mr. Pitt, which was begun very ſoon after his preſent majeſty's acceſſion.

However favourable and promiſing it might at firſt appear, yet France, in all probability, never intended it to come to maturity; for their pretended pacific miniſter preſented a private memorial from Spain, in which that court deſired to be invited to accede to, and guaranty the treaty; and to prevent the differences that at preſent ſubſiſted between the two crowns of Great Britain and Spain, being the occaſion of a future war, deſired the points in diſpute might be finally ſettled.

Firſt,

Firſt, The reſtitution of captures. Secondly, Granting them the privilege of fiſhing on the bank of Newfoundland. Thirdly, To demoliſh all the Engliſh ſettlements in the bay of Honduras. The contents and the manner of preſenting the memorial, were ſufficient to have incenſed the tameſt and moſt puſillanimous miniſter; but to a miniſter of Mr. Pitt's ſpirit, zeal for the dignity of his maſter, and welfare of the people, it is eaſy to conceive with what indignation it was received, and how he would have treated the Janus that preſented it. It muſt be apparent to every man of common underſtanding, that the power whoſe conduct was thus indecent, impertinent, and dictatorial, could have no other deſign than to exaſperate us to a declaration of war, or to intimidate us into an ignominious, inadequate peace; and this inſulting memorial being preſented by the miniſter of an other power, pretending to negociate a peace, made it ſtill more evident, that theſe two courts had agreed

to

to join in our deſtruction. This was the light in which the truly ſenſible and diſcerning Mr. Pitt ſaw it; and though he ſhuddered at the idea of an other war, though his utmoſt ambition and his darling object was to procure an honourable peace; yet in this unfortunate ſituation of the Spaniards having become the dupe of France, he ſaw no option but to declare war againſt Spain. This noble and ſpirited conduct would have made other ſtates cautious how they inſulted the firſt power in the world. By a proper exertion of our vaſt ſtrength, he would have made Spain ſoon repent its raſhneſs and folly, and in a few months join with France in ſuing for a peace.

This occaſioned the firſt operations of the Scotch faction; they had laid by watching for peace, when they intended to ſupplant the able conductor of the war, but by another war they imagined all their hopes fruſtrated. Tho' a Spaniſh rupture was inevitable, yet they were weak enough to amuſe themſelves with the

the ſtrange ſilly notion of ſoothing the proud Spaniard, and by conceſſions to France, obtaining a peace. Confirmed in theſe ill-grounded chimeras, a ſtrenuous oppoſition was reſolved on to Mr. Pitt's meaſures, in order to lay him under the neceſſity of reſigning. In the beginning of October 1761, after having ſubmitted to various inſults, he found the torrent bear ſo hard on him, that he gave way to the Scotch artifices, and retired from a poſt in which he was become uſeleſs, by the regular, indiſcriminate, and determined oppoſition to all his meaſures.

This is the day that will ſtand accurſed in the Engliſh Calendar till time ſhall be no more; for this was the day when to Scotch intrigue and ambition, Engliſh glory became a ſacrifice; when from the moſt united, happy people that ever loved their king, and confided in his miniſtry, we became torn and diſtracted with univerſal diviſions and diſſentions.

In

In honour of Mr. Pitt let it be remembered, that during his public ſervices he never had, like little paultry, mean, dirty miniſters, accumulated RICHES for himſelf, nor lucrative REVERSIONS for his family, and was ill provided for his own ſupport, even in retirement; on which account his majeſty, ever ſolicitous to reward merit, and make the great and good happy, inſiſted on his accepting a penſion of three thouſand a year.

The moſt diſgraceful ſcene to the Scotch cabal opened immediately after Mr. Pitt's reſignation. In the next Gazette, his acceptance of a penſion was told in a manner that evidently ſhowed the deſign of the narration to be the blaſting the deſerved reputation of Mr. Pitt, and not with any intention of doing honor to his majeſty's zeal to reward merit; and this was followed by ſuch an innundation of the groſſeſt abuſe on Mr. Pitt and his friends, that I believe never was before poured forth from the preſs.

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In the various ſtrained arguments, wicked miſrepreſentations, and groundleſs aſſertions, there were but two topics inſiſted on with any kind of ſucceſs. The firſt was his having promoted German connections during his adminiſtration, though in the former part of life he had furiouſly oppoſed them. The ſecond, his haughty and imperious behaviour.

The firſt was greatly occaſioned by a pamphlet, intituled, "Conſiderations on the German war." In which every argument that the ingenuity of a conſiderable body of men had ſuggeſted, were collected and publiſhed by a tool of the then oppoſition, a perſon, who, in the real and metaphorical ſenſe, was a turncoat, having been once a diſſenting teacher, and a dependant on the Pelham's, publicly declaiming in favour of their meaſures, and demonſtrating the neceſſity of German connections; but at that time a dependant on their enemies, and moſt zealous in oppoſition to his former friends. This artful pamphlet being

ing conſiſtent with the prepoſſeſſions of the Engliſh, it is not ſurpriſing that it prejudiced many againſt Mr. Pitt. It was a meer collection of invectives againſt that meaſure, without giving the arguments in its favour. I own myſelf intirely at a loſs to determine, whether the German meaſures were neceſſary to be purſued or not: nothing I will allow is more clear, than that we ſpent immenſe ſums, loſt infinite numbers of men, and made no beneficial acquiſitions to our country; but, on the other hand, the French ſpent as much money, loſt more men, and had as little real advantage ariſing to themſelves as we had. The unnatural alliance of France and Auſtria, made it more neceſſary than heretofore; except the much-talked of balance of power, is a meer ridiculous chimera. However glorioufly, and indeed miraculouſly, his Pruſſian majeſty defended himſelf againſt a combination of all the great powers on the continent, yet if the French career had not been ſtopped by us,

us, he muſt as far as human reaſon can determine, have as certainly been deſtroyed as the unfortunate Bohemian king was, in the contemptible reign of that inſignificant, pacific, monarch James the firſt, and the firſt Scot that curſt this country with ſway: and in that caſe the whole power of the continent, moſt probably Holland itſelf, would have been in the hands of our enemies. As the French ſoldiers ſerve aboard their fleets, if their armies had not been imployed on the continent, it is moſt probable they would have ſo effectually ſupplied their colonies, that our force, however valiant, would have proved ineffectual. If the German connections were ſo detrimental, why did not the Scotch miniſtry withdraw our forces, inſtead of which they kept them at the uſual expence? I am no advocate for German meaſures, I only mention my doubts.

As to the ſecond objection of his haughtineſs, it was, in ſome degree, the natural conſequence of ſuperior merit: but chiefly the invention of a

malevolent party. A moſt wicked publication appeared about this time, called Mr. Pitt's letter verſified. In which, a regular account of Mr. Pitt's reſignation was pretended to be given, and indeed, was well invented; for no perſon could ſuſpect, that the names of the firſt people in the kingdom were added to meer fictions, no more than they could ſuppoſe, that the Scotch critic Lauder, could have invented lines for Milton. This pamphlet, while ſuppoſed to be true, had the deſired effect, and made Mr. Pitt odious in the eyes of his beſt friends: but when it was found to be the baſe artifice of a wicked cabal; when the ſpeeches and replies of the firſt people of the kingdom appeared to be either wholly invention, or ſo altered and perverted, as to become totally void of the real fact, his popularity returned with redoubled luſtre. This was the only publication regarded by this great diſcarded miniſter; for when he found ſo many groſs and wicked falſities,

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his firſt intention was, not only to contradict them, but to offer a reward of 500 l. for the diſcovery of the author: but on more mature conſideration, this was thought to be more likely to ſerve the production than the injured party, and therefore this, like other wicked publications, was left to time, the diſcoverer of truth, for its refutation.

Mr. Samuel Johnſon, the dictionary man, and receiver general of ſubſcriptions, for his long laboured, never publiſhed edition of Shakeſpear, in his days of independance, before his uncouth tongue was ſilenced with a penſion of three hundred a year, gave a definition of a penſion very conſiſtent with the prejudices of the Engliſh: he ſays, "It is "an allowance made to any one without "an equivalent; in England, generally "underſtood, to mean pay given to a "ſtate hireling for treaſon to his coun-"try." This being pretty much the general idea, the penſion ſo honorably beſtowed on Mr. Pitt, was by every mi-

niſterial ſcribler made uſe of to blaſt his reputation: but when the people were undeceived, when they found it the reward of his merit, preſt on him by his ſovereign, inſiſted on in a manner not to be refuſed without the imputation of inſolence, refractorineſs, diſobedience, and factiouſneſs, they then looked with admiration on the king's goodneſs and zeal to reward merit; they ſtill had the ſame high opinion of Mr. Pitt's independance; and the odium juſtly fell on the Scotch partizans, who had ſo inceſſantly laboured to deceive the people, and convert to their own baſe ends his majeſty's benevolence.

Thus ended Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration: an adminiſtration that, however, Scotch malevolence may, by the aid of Tobias Smollet, or William Guthrie, miſrepreſent, abuſe, or calumniate; yet in the faithful hiſtorian's narrative, who ſets forth genuine facts, it will be read as a kind of romance; ſo unparalleledly glorious and ſucceſsful were his undertakings,

ings, ſo diſintereſted his conduct, ſo NOBLE HIS REWARD FROM THE KING his maſter, ſo ſincere the joy of the people when he was promoted, ſo unfeigned their grief when he was diſcarded. Future ages will in the ſame hour read of our misfortunes and diſgraces before he came into power, and the amazing tranſition from contempt to glory on his promotion. They will read in the year 1755, that an abject, paultry, puſillanimous miniſtry, ſhamefully loſt Minorca, though a large fleet was in view, whoſe VALIANT admiral fled from a crazy French ſquadron, which would have been ſhook to pieces by their own guns, in order to cover, as he merrily called it, Gibraltar, againſt which there was no enemy: but from ſuch infamous, UNNATURAL miſcreants, the only ſervice to be expected is the parading in a ſecure ſtation. They will find that our American territories were become a ſcene of deſolation. That the wretched miniſtry gave the nation up for loſt; and that a man in high

office declared at his table, and in public, that it was impoſſible to prevent our becoming a province of France. At this time was publiſhed Dr. Brown's Eſtimate of the Manners of the Times, in which, with all the eaſe and importance of an antient oracle, he pronounced the whole kingdom a collection of ſcoundrels, cowards, gameſters, debauchees, without public or private virtue remaining, except in Weſtminſter-hall, which was a fulſome compliment to lord chancellor Hardwicke, and a groſs inſult on the other courts: for he ſaid, that it was his excellent example that was the ſole cauſe of retaining virtue in that body. Before Mr. Pitt came into power, the contemptible miniſtry were trembling at the name of flat-bottom boats, and were making a real defence againſt an imaginary invaſion; bringing Hanoverians, Heſſians, and other inſignificant mercinaries to defend Great Britain, the miſtreſs of the world, againſt the gaſconades of France. This is the period, that

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in future ages will make the reader bluſh at the infamouſly mean dejection of the truly powerful Engliſh; at which period, they will find Mr. Pitt called forth to the adminiſtration by the united voice of the people, by addreſſes to the king from many conſiderable places, inſtructions to the repreſentatives from almoſt all.

This was the time when the loyal city of London, ever zealous in the cauſe of their country, carried their bold remonſtrance to the throne, and demanded ſatisfaction on the delinquents; in conſequence of which one admiral was ſhot; would to God there had been a ſcore of ſtateſmen! Immediately on the advancement of Mr. Pitt, the whole ſcene of affairs was changed. The people, who at the very report of an invaſion, next to impracticable, had in the moſt abject manner trembled for their lives and fortunes, were, by his ſpirited meaſures, ſoon ſhown their ſtrength; ſo far from ſuffering foreign troops to be the protectors of the Engliſh empire, he not only

guarded our own territories, but attacked the enemy in every part of the globe, and in leſs than four years took from them all their ſettlements of conſequence in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, America, and Africa; and at the ſame time invading Old France; intirely fruſtrating all their ſchemes in Germany, and gaining many ſignal naval victories; France was ſoon reduced to the loweſt ſtate, by thoſe people whom ſhe had frightened not long before with the very name of flat-bottom boats. Such the power of this happy and exalted kingdom, when united under a good and able adminiſtration!

The Scotch and their partizan, on the expulſion of Mr. Pitt, undertook to prevent another war, but theſe puny, ſhallow ſtateſmen were miſtaken in their chimeras; for a Spaniſh war proved inevitable, they accommodated the Spaniard with three months to get home their flota, augment their navy, diſcipline their army, and to be in readineſs to attack Portugal; and then even Scotch cunning could

could not prevent the war: but at Chriſtmas a declaration ſneaked out, that if at Michaelmas had come forth with a dignity equal to our power, had taken the Spaniard unprepared, and had been a proper return for our groſs inſults.

The Scotch, by their future conduct, ſoon ſhowed that it was their reſolution to turn-out the principal whigs, and new model the miniſtry, which they purſued with ſuch an imprudent, headſtrong zeal, as to be the cauſe of their own deſtruction. The able financier, Mr. Legg, was ſoon diſmiſſed; the grand object was turning-out Mr. Pitt, the favourite of the people; the next ſacrifice to their ambition and intereſt, was the faithful friend, and old ſervant of the Hanover family, the duke of Newcaſtle, at that time, the firſt lord of the treaſury; this was accompliſhed in the ſame manner as Mr. Pitt's expulſion; for his office was rendered ſo extremely diſagreeable, that he was under the neceſſity of reſigning: on which occaſion, he ſaid, "As I am

not

" not only inſulted by the board at which " I preſide, but by the ſervants, I think " it time for me to retire," which he nobly did, refuſing a penſion, to live on the wreck of an immenſe fortune, ſpent in the ſervice of the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover.

If ingratitude has ſtill a place in the liſt of enormous crimes, how infamous muſt thoſe wretches be, whom the good old duke had foſtered and carreſſed! whom in the plenitude of his power, he had ſingled out for favor, who, by his kindneſs, had been put into high offices of truſt and importance, yet inſulting their patron when they ſaw him declining in court favor, treating him with contempt, worrying him out of office, ſacrificing him to an untried upſtart of yeſterday, and exerting that power he had put in their hands in the donor's overthrow. Theſe are your noble deeds, you worthy Scots! Theſe the examples of your fidelity and affection!

As I write from the dictates of conſcience, unconnected with either party, I ſhall not ſtain my pages with any compliments on the duke of Newcaſtle's adminiſtration, for that would be a violation of truth and juſtice; yet I muſt ſay, that however groſs the blunders, however little the merit of his actions, he was ſeldom anſwerable for them, as he ſubmitted to be GUIDED, and in the greateſt part of his adminiſtration, even BY SCOTCHMEN: ſo that thoſe actions, called his, that they are ſo loud in condemning, are in reality their own.

Theſe diſmiſſals in a little time appeared to have been made preparatory to the exaltation of the Scot, who now aſſumed the whole power of the nation, and this "he did (like the valiant Drawcanſir) "becauſe he dared," having no pretence for ſo doing, but that it was his humour, his countrymens intereſt; and that the power of promoting himſelf was in his own hands. If diſintereſtedneſs herſelf was to draw the negative qualities of the

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firſt officer of ſtate in this kingdom, it would be much ſuch a character as had now aſſumed the reins of government. He was a man that at no part of life had opportunity or inclination of applying to buſineſs. When young, he was diſpoſed to gaiety; and though, as I before mentioned, having been at the cloſe of a ſeſſion elected one of the ſixteen peers, yet by his oppoſing, right or wrong, all meaſures of government, was at the next election excluded, and then in diſguſt retired to an iſle in the kingdom of Scotland, where he ſpent many years in cloſe monaſterial retirement. This being the prime of his life, in which, moſt men, after the ſchool of books, inlarge their ideas in the only uſeful ſchool, the converſation of men, he formed his from theory; became reſerved, full of ſtrange prejudices, and unfit for any thing but the tyrannic domain of an highland clan. When he returned, as if fate was ſtill making him her ſport, one time exalting him, the more completely to depreſs him another,

another, he was taken notice of on an occaſion, that no one could have conceived introductory to the prime miniſterſhip. The dutcheſs of Queenſbury having entertained her friends with the play of the FAIR PENITENT, the part of Lothario fell to the lot of his lordſhip, in which he ſucceeded ſo much better than in his late performances in the character of a ſtateſman, that he was greatly admired, and particularly, by his late royal highneſs Frederick prince of Wales, who took great notice of this occaſional Roſcius, and invited him to Leiceſterhouſe, which laid the foundation of a connection, that I fear England will ever repent. After the death of this excellent prince, at the ſettling of the houſhold at Saville-houſe, his lordſhip became a great officer, and a great favourite; his talents, however unfit for public imploy, very deſervedly made him amiable to his young maſter in a private capacity; his morals were unexceptionable, and he was well diſpoſed to arts and artiſts, though

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he has ever been directed by national attachments, caprice, or private friendſhip, and not by a diſintereſted zeal for real merit. If any doubt theſe aſſertions, I appeal to thoſe miſerable pictures that diſgrace Guildhall. If they boaſt his judgment in ſculpture, I appeal to the new invented figure at the Exchange. If they ſay, that he knows more of poetry than an Hottentot does of cookery, I appeal to thoſe unfortunate people, who yawned at the execrable Scotch performance, called Agis, king of Sparta. But if it ſhould be ſaid, that his private regard for Ramſey, Wilton, and Hume, make him promote them at the expence of his own reputation for taſte, I then applaud his good nature, but cannot acquieſce in his public pretenſions of being a Mœcenas. He was in every reſpect adapted to the ſmall circle of a coal fire; here his virtues were known, and his ſincere attachments made him amiable; but when viewed in the inlarged light of a miniſter, or Mœcenas, were truly ridiculous and

and contemptible, and the means of bringing thoſe works of genius into diſgrace that he made a parade of promoting.

This was the man that became ſo great a dupe to his pride, vanity, and ambition, and the ſelfiſhneſs of his dependants, that after the expulſion of the ableſt and moſt approved miniſtry this nation ever had, during which there was the greateſt union and harmony ever known between the people and government, he weakly and arrogantly aſſumed abſolute rule in their ſtead; and on the 29th of May, 1762, became the prime miniſter.

This cauſed an univerſal diſcontent, and, I believe, every impartial independant man muſt allow it to have been juſt, and what muſt have been foreſeen. Very many were the reaſons for the peoples being alarmed; particularly this miniſter was in that ſituation, which in public and private life has ever been deteſtable, for he was a favorite. His abilities were doubted. His country ſo famed for attachment

merely

merely to themſelves, made him odious, The people he brought into power with him, were in general truly contemptible: that moſt important office, the national accountant, was proſtituted on a man, to whom a ſum of five figures was an impenetrable ſecret. There formerly were a ſet of people of known worth, integrity, abilities, and patriotiſm, denominated tories; but as his majeſty, in his firſt moſt excellent ſpeech, obſerved, "party "was extinguiſhed," and the rational part of whigs and tories were blended together; yet there remained a few poor ſouls, whoſe folly had rendered them unequal in buſineſs, who ſtill aſſumed that title, and together with ſome notorious Jacobites, formed a club at a coffee-houſe, in all reſpects contemptible, and having no name or character of their own, aſſumed the name of the houſe, and were called the COCOA-TREE. This was the place from whence our new-made miniſter *culled his ſimples*. His boſom friends, or, the miniſter's miniſtry, were three or four,

four, whoſe different imploys, ſuch as in a Scotch kirk, in the law, and in the army, made them wholly ignorant of ſtate affairs; but their conceit being equal to their ignorance, they undertook to aſſiſt this upſtart pilot.

The day that this infatuated Scotch miniſter aſſumed this high and dangerous imploy, was publiſhed the firſt number of a periodical paper, called the Briton, which I can venture to affirm, was wrote not only with his approbation, but often by the above-mentioned confidants. Nothing could have marked in ſtronger characters his weakneſs, diffidence, and conſciouſneſs of inability, than the publiſhing a paper in defence of his conduct, before he had done one miniſterial act. Nothing could be a clearer proof of his real folly and deficiency, than his protecting and encouraging a performance ſo completely contemptible and ridiculous.

If the miniſter had been veſted with a moderate ſhare of underſtanding; for it

did not require the Scotch quality of ſecond ſight, he muſt have foreſeen, that a barefaced miniſterial paper, muſt occaſion opponents, and this was the caſe; for the next week the fooliſh Briton found, other imploy than anſwering the dry, dull, ſtale, hiſtorical extracts of the poor ſleepy Monitor: he found the North Briton, a paper replete with wit and humour, whoſe enterpriſing author ſtuck at nothing to ſerve his purpoſes; one of which did more injury to the Caledonian cauſe, than the forced hot-bed nonſenſe of a hundred Britons did ſervice. Of the North Briton I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter; it is only neceſſary to obſerve, that an infamous paper, called the Auditor, ſoon came to the impotent Briton's aid, and by every baſe and wicked artifice, endeavoured to blaſt the reputation of thoſe that were in favor with the public.

This was the ſtrange ſituation of affairs when the Scot firſt became predominant: this the appearance, that promiſed

miſed ſuch furious literary, as well as other conteſts. This was a ſituation that required all imaginable temper, prudence, and ability; but inſtead of any of theſe qualities the Scot ruled in the moſt furious, head-ſtrong, diſtracted manner ever known. He not only took the places of profit from his opponents, but he deprived them of every honor, ſuch as the lord lieutenancies of counties; particularly, the ſincere and zealous friend of the Hanover family, the duke of Newcaſtle, was turned out of his lieutenancies of Middleſex, Suſſex, and Nottingham; as was the duke of Devonſhire from Derby, duke of Grafton from Suffolk, duke of Bolton from Southampton, marquis of Rockingham from the Weſt-riding of Yorkſhire, *&c. &c. &c.* the proſcription did not ſtop here, for their friends, and even the friends of their friends, were turned out to make room for thoſe miſcreants, thoſe ſycophants, thoſe tools of power, who had ſacrificed to the upſtart Scot, or intrigued with his

paultry dependants : places and penſions were proſtituted on the moſt infamous people, and on the moſt trifling occaſions ; in the military, there was ſcarcely any promoted but Scotch ; and in every place, none found favor, but thoſe tame, pliant tools, who were ſubſervient to power.

This ſtrange ambition of the Scot to become prime miniſter, in oppoſition to the united voice of the people, in oppoſition to moſt of the great families in England ; at a time, when the greateſt wiſdom and experience were wanting to conduct the war, will ever brand the action with the greateſt degree of folly ; but the folly is little to be regarded, in compariſon of the barbarity to his amiable maſter, a prince, whoſe many virtues had endeared him to all his ſubjects, who never appeared without their expreſſing their zeal and affection for him by the loudeſt acclamations, and who ſeemed to enjoy their approbation, and eſteem it his greateſt happineſs. But, alas ! on the

the promotion of the Scot; the expulſion of all the able miniſtry that conducted the war; the taking into his ſervice thoſe dregs of party the refuſe of the tories; and the Scot's baſe attachment to his countrymen in oppoſition to the Engliſh; how have theſe things diſguſted the people! though I believe moſt ſincerely, that their real love and affection for his majeſty, is as unſullied as ever. Yet their heavy hearts cannot expreſs that joy they were uſed to do at his appearance in public; he now goes thro' the ſtreets in an awful ſilence, not occaſioned by any unpopular act of his own, but the conſequence of thy pride, ambition, ignorance, attachments, conceit, and arrogance, thou upſtart Scot!

Thus I have accounted for the riſe of thoſe feuds and animoſities that diſturb the ſtate in the reign of the beſt of kings; and I believe, that every unplaced, and unpenſioned Engliſhman muſt ſee them to have ariſen from the excluſion of the able Engliſh miniſtry, and the

promotion of the inadequate, and obnoxious Scot, and his partiſans; and that to him is owing the deſtruction of that perfect harmony and union, that ſo peculiarly bleſt this nation, during the firſt year of his majeſty's reign.

As I before mentioned, I am not writing a hiſtory of the Scotch adminiſtration, only of the various occaſions of our feuds and diſſentions. I therefore ſhall not detain my readers with accounts of their falſe pretences to œconomy, rewarding merit, promoting arts, diſcouraging bribery, leaving every perſon to act according to the dictates of his conſcience, and other things, that their tools were ordered to buz in the people's ears; but I ſhall immediately proceed to conſider the great and important national affair, the peace.

I look on the peace as much ſuch an affair as the German connections, the rectitude or impropriety of both which, depend on ſuch a number of circumſtances, that it is very eaſy for a writer of ſmall abilities, to repreſent it good or bad.

bad. If we look back to the origin of the war, we ſhall ſee, that the firſt, or indeed the only object, was the ſecurity of our American ſettlements, paſs over all the intermediate circumſtances of the war, and the peace muſt appear moſt unexceptionable; but when we conſider the vaſt extent of the war, which, from a ſmall ſpark in America, was ſoon communicated to the other three quarters of the world; when we conſider, our vaſt acquiſitions in the Weſt Indies, which was the very fountain-head of their riches and trade; when we recollect that all their ſettlements in Aſia had bowed to the Engliſh yoke, that their ſettlements in Africa were in our poſſeſſion; and that our all conquering ſword had in Europe braved them in old France itſelf, and either deſtroyed or blocked up their whole navy, theſe at the expence of very many millions, and the loſs of many thouſands of our truly valiant countrymen; I believe, theſe things fairly ſtated, no man can be hardly enough to

aſſert the peace is adequate. But there remains a very ſtrong Scotch argument, which is, that if you did not accept this peace you could have had none; for the French would not have ceded to you, all that you had in poſſeſſion, not even if you had been at the gates of Paris. I look on this argument juſt on a footing with the aſſertion, that America was conquered in Germany, for they are both extremely plauſible, but by no means clear. Such kind of aſſertions are in general made by thoſe that intend to deceive; for nothing is ſo completely a chimera, as determining what would have happened had the exact contrary been done: but I will allow the Scotch the full ſcope of this argument, and that they could not have made peace on better terms, yet this will not juſtify them; for nothing is more certain, than that the French nation, as well as their miniſtry, held Mr. Pitt in the greateſt awe, and looked on him as much the deſtroyer of their country, as the Engliſh deemed

him

him the ſaviour of theirs; that they knew that the Scotch was a meer faction, come into power in direct oppoſition to the ſenſe of the people, and that their only chance of continuing the ſole governors of this country, was making a peace: therefore, the French on Mr. Pitt's expulſion, inſiſted on much higher terms than they would have done if he had remained; beſides, there was ſuch an imprudent forwardneſs in the miniſtry to make peace, they ſo openly declared, that the country muſt be ruined without it, and their infamous tools, the Briton and Auditor, both conſtantly wrote in ſupport of theſe baſe, impolitic doctrines, that the French, ſo far from being the greateſt negotiators in the world, muſt have ſhown themſelves the weakeſt that ever exiſted, if they had not availed themſelves of our apparent reſolution to make peace at all events, and made us accept of terms, which if Mr. Pitt had been at the head of affairs they durſt not have offered. This I believe to be literally

rally the caſe. Yet this is far from exculpating the Scotch. Their crime was coming into power to which they had no pretence, and which was apparently againſt the opinion of all mankind, and done meerly by the extravagant power of a ſingle deſpotic Scot; who, to the deſtruction of this country, was a favorite, a character deteſtable in every age, every country, every ſituation, public and private, and which ever will remain ſo, as long as human nature is human nature; as long as princes ſhould be the friends of the whole, not the patrons of a few; as long as mankind chuſe to be judged of by their unprejudiced maſter, not through the medium of a weak or bigoted favorite, and his creatures.

The Engliſh had ſubmitted to the great hardſhips of a long and expenſive war with unparalleled alacrity, in hopes of obtaining a glorious, ſafe, and advantageous peace. The aſtoniſhing ſeries of ſucceſſes led them to form romantic ideas of it, and were of courſe doubly chagreened,

greened, when they found that all their valuable acquiſitions were returned, and that they got little except Canadian deſart, which can be looked on in no other light than a negative good, by preventing the French diſturbing their territories for the future. Such being the peace, and ſuch the general opinion, it is not extraordinary, that it was received with univerſal diſcontent: a thankſgiving was ordered by authority, but there were ſcarce any who thought it little leſs than a profanation and mockery, to thank God for what they eſteemed a greater curſe, than a ſucceſsful war. The thankſgiving was truly frugal and œconomical; for the government ſaved their fireworks; the people their candles; and corporations their faggots: and this day of joy concluded with every demonſtration of grief and concern.

Infinite were the literary ſquabblings about the peace long before its conditions were known; the miniſterial mercenaries pronouncing it as moſt excellent,

lent, and the oppoſition, moſt infamous; the people's diffidence in, and deteſtation for the miniſtry, eaſily made them credit the latter. Nothing contributed more to bring the peace and the miniſtry into contempt, than the folly and inability of their hackney writers; which ſhowed them weak to the laſt degree, not to get better, or to imploy none. An inſtance of their ſtrange ignorance and ſtupidity I ſhall beg leave to relate. A perſon who had obſerved the amazing credulity and ignorance of the Auditor, ſent him a letter, ſigned Viator; which, though ſo apparently a joke, that it would not have taken in a ſchool-boy, who had learned geography a week, yet the renowned Scotch advocate, the Auditor, gave it moſt implicit credit, and in No. XXXI. publiſhed it at length: among other things, Viator ſet forth the excellency of Florida, repreſented it as populous and fertile, and told the poor Auditor, that the few bogs might be turned to excellent account, by being made into

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to peats, and if ſent to Barbadoes, Antigua, St. Chriſtopher's, and Monſerrat, they might be ſold to great advantage, as he never had ſeen a comfortable fire in any of their parlours, not even in the moſt inclement ſeaſon. If the Auditor had known any thing of the ſituation of the country, if he had known the difference between the tropics and the north pole, he muſt have ſeen the joke, and would not have talked of parlour fires in one of the moſt ſultry countries in the world, in places where there is not ſo much as a parlour chimney; but inſtead of the Auditors having any doubts, he enlarged, on this occaſion, on our great acquiſition, and highly complimented Viator's candor, in giving ſo juſt an account of our valuable acquiſitions.

I am now to relate ſuch a ſtrange piece of Scotch infatuation, equally inconſiſtent with their own intereſt, as well as the nations, that one ſhould think providence interfered, and directed them to their own deſtruction; which is the cruel,

cruel, unconſtitutional, and unprecedented extention of the exciſe, called the cyder tax: did not I know for certain, that a Scotſhman propoſed the tax, and drew the bill; and that the then able and ever memorable chancellor of the exchequer, had ſo little hand in it, as not to know the meaning of a hogſhead, I ſhould have thought that ſome pretended friend had drawn them into this oppreſſive ſcheme, to render them trebly odious, to complete their overthrow, and to make their names ſtand accurſed by every friend of liberty, till time ſhall be no more.

The exciſe, as eſtabliſhed in this free country, would be terrible to the moſt abject ſlaves. It is no leſs than veſting nine commiſſioners, all appointed by the king, and under the immediate command of the miniſtry, with the ſole property of every individual, that the law has put into their clutches: for they have a power of trying, convicting, and puniſhing in many inſtances with the moſt grievous

fines,

fines, intirely at their humour, without any evidence, but their own miſcreants, without calling a jury, without being liable to an appeal, or under any kind of controul. A privilege that our excellent conſtitution has denied our higheſt courts of judicature, who cannot convict without a jury, and whoſe ſentences and decrees are ſubject to an appeal to the higher powers. However oppreſſive this mode of taxation was while confined to particular ſets of people, it was ſuffered, tho' with regret; but the Scot reſolved to lay all the cyder-makers under the exciſe. And as in the cyder countries the private families in general make their own cyder, it was ſubjecting every country gentleman's houſe to the inſpection of the ſcum of the earth, the dregs of human nature, well known, and univerſally deteſted, by the title of exciſemen: who by this act had a right to viſit private families, to examine their houſes, to be ſpies on all their actions, and on their ſcoundrel report, to expoſe them to the ſevereſt penalties.

nalties. That this act paſt under the Scotch dictator's direction, non can be hardy enough to deny; what was their deſign in promoting ſuch an act, is not ſo eaſily determined; but if we are to gueſs from circumſtance, we may venture to ſuppoſe it introductory to an univerſal exciſe, or a general tyranny: for no people in their ſenſes could, for the raiſing ſo ſmall a ſum as the intereſt of 3,500,000 l. have pitched on a mode that would incenſe the whole nation, when there were ſo many more eligible ways of raiſing treble the ſum. The act paſſed, notwithſtanding it was oppoſed by the honeſteſt, ableſt, and moſt independant men in the kingdom; and be it ever remembered, to the honor of the truly patriotic city of London, that they exerted every nerve in oppoſing an act, that though it did not affect one man in this metropolis, nor ſcarcely a perſon within an hundred miles of them, they ſaw deſtructive to the liberty and happineſs of ſo many of their fellow-ſubjects, and which might portend ruin

ruin to the whole: they petitioned the commons, they petitioned the lords, and when they found theſe ſucceſsleſs, they humbly ſubmitted their remonſtrances to their moſt auguſt ſovereign.

The equity and reaſonableneſs of the act has always been reſted on the juſtneſs of making the people in the weſt of England pay duty for their drink, as well as thoſe that uſe beer. I allow this to be juſt in moſt caſes, but like all general principles, liable to abſolute exceptions: take the real facts, which are, that the county of Devonſhire pays as much to the malt tax as any county in England, Middleſex only excepted. That the people in the weſtern counties that can afford it, drink beer, and cyder as a kind of ſubſtitute for wine; and that thoſe poor people that drink nothing but their own miſerable cyder, do it from real neceſſity. Now ſuppoſe, that a whole county was to drink water, meerly becauſe they could not afford better liquor, can any man ſay it would be juſt to tax

water, or to make them compound at five ſhillings a head for drinking it, and thereby take the advantage of their neceſſities? No perſon will pretend, that this would be leſs than a barbarity, and then I ſay, the caſe is exactly parallel, and therefore the act is not only dangerous to liberty, but cruel, unjuſt, and oppreſſive to the poor.

This act that was ſo nobly oppoſed by the Engliſh, and ſo ſtrenuouſly ſupported and promoted by the Scot and his party, ſoon brought his domain to a period; for the people became ſo incenſed, that tho' the hardy, unfeeling Scot might not be apprehenſive of danger, yet his family and friends were, and on April the 8th, 1763, yielded to their intreaties, and reluctantly reſigned that high and profitable office, which he had held for a little more than ten months, much to the diſſatisfaction of every true Engliſhman, much to the ſatisfaction of his rapacious, all-graſping countrymen.

The laſt particular I ſhall mention as one of the grand ſources of our feuds, animoſities and diſſentions, was the extraordinary proceedings on the North Briton, No. XLV : as the author is convicted, I think myſelf quite at liberty to ſpeak my ſentiments on this ſubject; which during the courſe of theſe numbers of the Contraſt, while his fate was in ſuſpence I did not think juſtifiable. Such a ſtrange ſeries of diſtracted and childiſh actions attended the conduct of the miniſtry, and the ſuppoſed author, that one ſhould have thought them rivalling each other in folly, abſurdity, and contempt of our laws. The North Briton being a paper founded in oppoſition to the Scot, was, on his reſignation, with great propriety, and complete triumph, declined. On the 13th of April, 1763, a very ſpirited advertiſement appeared in all the papers, informing the public of the North Briton's departure; but with a ſtrange inconſiſtency not to be paralleled, except in the diſtractions of party,

was the very next week revived; revived before the public were well informed of its being dead; revived by a moſt indecent, factious, and groſs attack on the king's ſpeech, made and attempted to be juſtified under the ſhallow, paultry pretext of the king's ſpeech being the miniſter's; and that becauſe the parliament debated on the king's ſpeech, therefore every periodical paper might do the ſame; that becauſe the parliament did it with diffidence and apology, therefore the public writers ſhould do it without ceremony. Nothing is more certain, than that the privileges of parliament and the ſubjects in general, are very different; the eſſence of parliament is freedom of debate, but what is ſaid within their doors, where none are ſuppoſed to be but themſelves, would in other places be puniſhable; and it is even a high offence to print or mention without their order, any of their proceedings. The whole paper, ſuch as the deſign, the tenor of the argument, the indecency

of

of expreſſion, the perſonal attack of the ſovereign, all concurred to make it the moſt ſcandalous libel that I believe ever appeared in public; the dignity of the crown, and the honor of the people, made it neceſſary to make the ſevereſt example our laws would permit, of ſo daring and wanton an inſult on the three ſtates of the kingdom: and it became every friend of that darling attribute of Engliſh liberty, the liberty of the preſs, to diſclaim ſo groſs and infamous an abuſe of it. If the government had proceeded on this occaſion with any degree of temper, by indictment, or information, which being term time, gave them an opportunity of doing, the author would have been brought to a ſpeedy puniſhment. But they reſolved to match him in folly, and ſurpaſs him in contempt of laws, and therefore treated the author of a libel in a manner not to be juſtified in HIGH TREASON. They iſſued a general undiſtinguiſhing warrant, in no

caſe legal, for the apprehending and ſeizing the authors, printers, and publiſhers, together with their papers, and this without mentioning their names, or ſetting forth, or having received any information on oath; a kind of warrant, that no country juſtice was ever ſo weak or ignorant to grant. However groſs the libel, a libel and treaſon are two offences, and therefore, they cannot by any law of this kingdom, juſtify ſeizing a libeller's papers, becauſe they are innocent, till publiſhed: beſides, this warrant was ſo general, that there was not one man in the kingdom but might have been apprehended by it, and his moſt private affairs expoſed by this means to the world. What added to this moſt tyrannical act, was, that private directions were given to execute this warrant on Mr. Wilkes, a member of the houſe of commons, at midnight, by breaking open his houſe; however, ſelf-preſervation made the wiſer meſſengers delay it till next morning, Saturday, April 30, when

when he was ſeized, his drawers broke open, his papers put in a bag, and he after an examination, committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower, and debarred the ſight of his friends and relations; an uninſtanced ſeverity even in high treaſon: where he lay till Friday, May the 6th, when he was brought up by Habeas Corpus to the Common Pleas, and diſcharged on point of privilege. The illegal, tyrannical, paſſionate, and unjuſt proceedings of the people in power, gave Mr. Wilkes every advantage, and had he been originally a popular character, and had afterwards proceeded with decency and temper, it muſt have over-thrown the miniſtry, and he would by legal methods, have recovered ample damages: but his conduct, or that of his party, was regardleſs of prudence and decency, and did not ſeem to have any other object, than inflaming the people. You could not paſs the ſtreets but you ſaw political agents, with the zeal of a quack doctor's merry andrew, diſtributing freſh ſtate adventures, one of which, though

a folio ſheet contained only "*as how that* " the ſolicitor, and one of the council of " John Wilkes, Eſq; member of par- " liament, went to the Tower to demand " a ſight of John Wilkes, Eſq; mem- " ber of parliament, but were denied; " that the ſaid ſolicitor and council then " applied to Philip Carteret Webb, Eſq; " ſolicitor of the treaſury, for admittance " to the ſaid John Wilkes, Eſq; member " of parliament, which, he the ſaid Phi- " lip Carteret Webb, Eſq; ſolicitor to " the treaſury, promiſed the ſaid ſolicitor " and council of the ſaid John Wilkes, " Eſq; member of parliament, ſhould be " granted; but when the ſaid ſolicitor " and council of the ſaid John Wilkes, " Eſq; member of parliament, returned, " Philip Carteret Webb, Eſq; ſolicitor " to the treaſury, had ſent no order." Such the ingenuity and the parade of this folio hand bill, that though the whole contents were, that two perſons, who called themſelves Mr. Wilkes's ſolicitor and council, had been ſeveral times at the

the Tower to ſee him, and were denied, yet it was ſpun out to ſeveral pages; and to ſhow the writer's great learning, it concluded with "magna eſt veritas," the unvaried motto to the hand bills of the great Dr. Rock, during his boaſted thirty years practice. The private letters that paſt between Mr. Wilkes and the ſecretaries of ſtate, were alſo, as ſoon as wrote, printed and deſperſed. This violation of decorum and good manners, in treating the firſt officers of ſtate, in the manner that Weſtminſter juſtices do St. Mary-Axe Jews, accuſing them of receiving ſtolen goods, was ſo groſs an indecency, that it ſhocked every reader, whoſe reaſon party had not intirely abſorbed. While theſe great officers, to keep pace in folly, joined their wiſe pates and hands in anſwering this uninſtanced inſult. Theſe ſtrange events operated like fire and water in contradiction to each other. The people that were for calling the ſecretaries to an account for their unconſtitutional behaviour, deſiſted, for fear of giving

ing a ſanction to a libel they ſo ſincerely deteſted; while the oppoſite party, that were for puniſhing the libel, lay dormant, for fear of being deemed approvers of this illegal, tyrannical act of the miniſtry. Yet the event was extremely favorable to the miniſtry; for this imprudent paper induced the merchants to addreſs on the peace after five months ſilence; it brought many of the conſiderable families in the oppoſition to court, to diſavow any connection with the North Briton, and it intirely ſilenced this very able paper, that had for almoſt a twelve month kept the miniſtry in a perpetual panic.

This affair lay dormant till the meeting of the parliament, and the opening the courts of juſtice, after the long vacation; when Mr. Wilkes was expelled the houſe of commons, and was ſoon after found guilty of publiſhing the North Briton in volumes, containing this particular libel; and the very ſame day, convicted of printing an Eſſay on Woman, the contents of which, I thank God, I

am

am ignorant of: but will venture to ſay, that if the author had been aided in his compoſition by every devil in the infernal regions, who excel in blaſphemy, obſcenity, and profligatiſm, yet the performance would fall far ſhort in infamy, to the traitorous methods imployed in bring it to a proſecution.

The preceding term, Mr. Wilkes, to the real ſatisfaction of every honeſt Engliſhman, and true friend of liberty, recovered a thouſand pounds damages of Mr. Wood, the ſub-ſecretary of ſtate, for having in violation of law, and the common privilege of every Engliſh ſubject, forcibly entered his houſe, ſeized his property, and broke open his locks.

Was I writing eſſays, moral or philoſophical, or enlarging on human underſtanding, or treating of prudence, what a vaſt field would be here opened for animadverſions on the ſtrange, childiſh conduct of the author of the North Briton! This man, who wrote down a prime miniſter, who every Saturday made

a Fox

a Fox tremble, whoſe pen became the dread of the kingdom of Scotland, was weak enough to furniſh evidence for his own deſtruction, by reprinting in his houſe, and by his ſervants, a libel, of which he ſtood accuſed of being the author, and of which reprinting he now ſtands convicted. This is a fact at preſent known, but ſo far exceeds credibility, that in the next century, it will be diſregarded as one of the malevolent inventions of the incenſed Scotch faction. What made the action ſtill more inconceivable was, that if he had been tried on the firſt information as being the author, the deficiency of evidence would have baffled the ſchemes of the moſt intriguing diabolus regis that ever diſgraced the ſervice of a heaven-born ſovereign.

Thus to his own unguarded conduct the unfortunate Wilkes fell a victim, after having with a ſpirit ſcarcely to be paralleled ſupported the North Briton thro' forty-four numbers, in which by experience he found, that the miniſtry were ſo conſcious of the badneſs of their cauſe,

cauſe, that not daring to reſent thoſe attacks, which muſt evidently bring on their overthrow, they rather forſook their uſurped and inordinate power, than ſubmit their cauſe to an independant honeſt jury. He fell by imprudently complying with the wiſhes of thoſe people he was oppoſing, who deſired nothing more than to ſee him attack their ſovereign. He is with all his genius and abilities become the matyr of the cauſe, and doomed moſt likely to perpetual baniſhment: the majority exulting, and the minority diſclaiming his connection.

The unexceptionable conduct of the different juries in theſe various affairs, has, if poſſible, added dignity to this moſt glorious inſtitution. They were unbiaſed by clamour, or intrigue; they were not to be deceived by the ſhallow pretence of its being the miniſter's ſpeech; they were not awed by an apprehenſion of diſobliging the mob; they were not drawn from their duty by a collection of traſh, illegally diſperſed;

they

they believed the paper an inſult on majeſty, and they therefore preſented the author to puniſhment, with the ſame alacrity as they would have done the author of Droit le Roy: for every good man will be as zealous to ſupport the JUST prerogative of the CROWN as to puniſh any ILLEGAL STRETCH of it. A jury convicted the author of this ſcandalous North Briton; and it was a jury who found a thouſand pounds damages againſt the perſon, who in defiance of the law, and the known privilege of an Engliſhman, broke the cabinet, and ſeized, and carried off the papers of a Britiſh ſubject. From hence let every future king ſee, that if he is inſulted, his faithful ſubjects will be ever zealous to reſent the injury; and from hence, let every tool of power learn, that when ever they act in defiance of the laws, they will meet with exemplary puniſhment.

Theſe are the grand cauſes of our feuds and diſſentions; which has baniſhed the boaſted peace and unanimity that

ſo

ſo peculiarly bleſſed the beginning of this reign. There are many reaſons for diſguſt, of an inferior nature, that are omitted, for fear of being tireſome, and others, becauſe they are fully treated off in the ſubſequent papers. The public approbation that the Contraſt met with, made the author ſolicitous of publiſhing them as they at preſent appear, corrected; and the paſſages, that the caution of the printer omitted, reſtored. The utmoſt of the author's ambition is to have them deemed the product of an honeſt patriotic Engliſhman, unconnected with party, and zealous to ſupport the rights of the crown. If he has been ſo happy, in the rage of party, when law was diſregarded in treating of theſe important ſubjects, to have attended to the conſtitution, he ſhall reckon his papers, however deficient in other merit, worthy of Britiſh patronage, and as ſuch ſubmits them to their candour.

No. 1. Wedneſday, June 29, 1763.

Hi motus animorum, atque hæc certamina tanta.
Pulveris exigui jactu, compreſſa quieſcunt.
VIRG.

THERE is not a more certain characteriſtic of a good and great man, than his reſting the opinion of mankind on his actions, without diſguiſe or artful repreſentation: nor of a bad one, than his endeavouring at a negative popularity, that is, not doing good, but making a parade of it, and founding his own applauſe on depreciating all his predeceſſors and opponents. The former was the truly noble, and exalted conduct of the patriotic miniſter, Mr. Pitt. On his coming into power, he attended to his duty only, and immediately put in execution his glorious plan of operations; which, in a little time, retrieved the ho-

nour of his creſt-fallen country, and from a ſtate of dejection at home, and contempt abroad, made us a united and happy people; feared and dreaded by thoſe enemies, who, in the Foxonian miniſtry, treated us with ſcorn and ridicule. It was on his merit and integrity he depended, and the diſcerning public did not fail to do him juſtice.

In honour of Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration, not out of pique to his ſucceſſors, I muſt obſerve, that there was not one undue meaſure to gain him his unrivalled popularity, nor to guard him againſt oppoſition. He neither intrigued with the repreſentative nor borough-holder; he deſpiſed parliamentary connections on ſuch infamous terms. He neither hired abandoned mercenary ſcribblers to be his advocates, nor did he penſion into ſilence, thoſe whoſe half-formed virtue would not ſuffer them to enter his liſt. He was a true friend to liberty of conſcience, without endeavouring to exalt the DISSENTERS in oppoſition to the CHURCH of ENGLAND

ENGLAND as by LAW eſtabliſhed: he never did, nor pretended to inculcate in his maſter's cloſet, "That the DISSEN-"TERS were the only people to be CON-"FIDED in:" nor did he attempt to ingratiate himſelf with thoſe reſtleſs bigotted people, by promiſing a repeal of our religious guardian the TEST act *. I will not mention his glorious deeds and unparalleled ſucceſſes, for they are not only known by every true Engliſhman, but are engraven on his grateful heart: I chuſe to avoid the mentioning of them for another reaſon, which is, leſt I ſhould be ſuppoſed to do it, on the mean principle of inſulting the late important domineering graſper of power, but now fallen pliant Scot.

When this patriot refuſed to be the nominal miniſter, without the power of GUIDING his ſpirited meaſures, according to his conſcience, he was ſucceeded by the

* Vide, if he'll ſhow it, lord Bute's letter to Dr. Chandler (a diſſenting teacher) the night before his departure from the miniſtry.

Scotchman. I now come to my ſecond inſtance, that bad or weak men don't depend on their own merit, but on the depreciating others. This is verified by the firſt Gazette after Mr. Pitt's reſignation, in which his penſion was ſet forth, and every other circumſtance particularized, that malice could invent, or Scottiſh cunning conceive, would tend to leſſen his deſerved popularity. This kind of narration was, at that time unprecedented; it ſtaggered the Engliſh for a few days, and gave inexpreſſible pleaſure to the Scotch, at the ſuppoſed ſucceſs of the northern blaſt of Engliſh glory. When theſe arts were deemed inſufficient, a weekly retailer of ſcandal found protection and reward. This was that ridiculous, metaphorical, abandoned ſcribler, the fooliſh Briton. This wretch, with an importance, always attendant on folly, undertook to blacken the character of all thoſe who did not ſubmit to the Scotch dictator. The Briton ſoon found in the Auditor, a coadjutor, equally baſe, though

though not equal in folly. The congenial ſouls of theſe literary Gemini united in the ſame wicked purſuit. During the Scotch adminiſtration, every thing that was good and great became a weekly ſacrifice; even natural defects were imputed as horrid crimes; a great foot, a gouty habit, or a ſquint, were ſufficient foundations to repreſent thoſe to whom they belonged, as conſummated villains. The groſſeſt falſities were conſtantly invented, and always aſſerted as facts, till grown too hardy, and laying aſide all attention even to probability, Florida was repreſented as a valuable acquiſition; that its producing turf would make it extremely beneficial to the COLD and INCLEMENT country called Barbadoes. Had they confined themſelves to private ſcandal, their forgeries could not have been detected by the world in general: but theſe were repugnant to common underſtanding, ſo that the unparalleled effrontery of the Auditor could not ſupport his paper, but like the fooliſh Briton, be-

came ſilent: and the tottering miniſter ſoon followed their example, and retired from view, to play the puppets behind the ſcenes. B. X. P.

No. 2. Wedneſday, July 6, 1763.

From ancient grudge break to new mutiny.

SHAKESPEAR.

WE have been by the ears for more than twelve months paſt, about our good friends the Scotch, whether they have a right to places of truſt and profit, in equal degree with the Engliſh? or whether they ought to be totally excluded? Though the whole debate turns on the act of union, yet thoſe ſuperficial zealots, the preſent mercenary political writers, have never aſked the queſtion, whether the union was to unite the crowns or the people? I apprehend the former was done, and the latter never ſo much as intended. The real, and indeed only diſtinction, between one another, conſiſts

conſiſts in the difference of their laws, religion, manners, and cuſtoms; and the attachment of the individuals to their national laws and religion is to that degree, that it appears more like inſtinct, than prejudice of education. This is the reaſon why foreign kings have been terrible, why foreign miniſters have been deteſtable, to every nation, and in every age. This is the reaſon why kings of different religions from their ſubjects have been dethroned; why miniſters of different nations have been odious, and ſeldom failed of being executed, to appeaſe an incenſed people. The next queſtion in point, and which I ſhould think is deciſive, is, whether the Scotch are really or nominally united? As to their LAWS, I believe even the ſtubborn Scot muſt allow, that they differ from ours, as freedom differs from ſlavery. It was ſince the Scotch rebellion of 1746, that the vaſſalage was taken off; till which time, the lords were abſolute tyrants, and the people mere ſlaves: though the lords have

loſt the legal power, the diſpoſition remains, and the people, who were formerly ſlaves by compulſion, are now ſo by choice. Their RELIGION, none can pretend to be the ſame; and, I think, I can aſſert from my own knowledge, that the antipathy of the Scotch to epiſcopacy, is greater than ours to the church of Rome. Their MANNERS are the moſt diſagreeable part of the Scotch character: they are intolerably proud, inſolent, and ſupercilious to their inferiors; yet ſo ſubſervient, and attentive to their own intereſt, that they can, nay, never fail, to cringe to the meaneſt degree, to their ſuperiors. Their natural and acquired ABILITIES are, as a body, truly contemptible: out of the infinite numbers in the military capacity, you have never heard of a great general, or admiral. Their talents are only executive. They are valiant, and do honour to their country, when commanding a company, or a ſhip; but when commanders in chief, or in any capacity that requires extenſive knowledge

ledge and abilities, they have ever failed. Their LEARNING is ſuperficial claſſical knowledge; they have little or no ſcience; the fine arts are not much better underſtood, or reliſhed amongſt the Scotch, than the Hottentots. Their CUSTOMS are too filthy for narration. From theſe reaſons, I infer, that the Scotch are evidently a different people from the Engliſh, as much as the French or Spaniards; and if ſo, that they ought to have no more rule in this country, than the latter; nor indeed ever will, without putting the whole kingdom in a ferment.

What I have thus freely ſubmitted, is not deſigned as a reflection on the Scotch, but as a juſtification of the Engliſh; and to ſhew that their oppoſition to the upſtart SCOT was founded on the moſt rational principles: it proceeded from a zeal for our laws and religion, and was therefore highly commendable, while a tame ſubmiſſion to a medley of Scotch tories, nonjurors, preſbyterians, &c. would ſo far from being conſiſtent with true Engliſh liberty, have entailed an endelible

delible ſtain on this generation, to the lateſt poſterity, and deſervedly made us the preſent contempt of the whole world.

The uſe and nature of national prejudices in general, ſhall be the ſubject of a future CONTRAST. B. X. P.

N. B. The public may depend on the FACT of lord Bute's writing to doctor Chandler, as mentioned in the laſt CONTRAST. The author would have publiſhed the letter ſome time ſince, if he could have obtained an exact copy; but if the parties do not ſoon communicate the extraordinary contents, he will publiſh his, in the inaccurate ſtate that a letter wrote from memory is like to be *. Had the letter been of a private nature, had it only contained the promiſe of advancing, or penſioning a few, he would have ſcorned to have taken notice of it; but when it appears, he is thoroughly ſatisfied

* The author finding the debate run ſo very high with ſome of the bigotted diſſenters, thought it beſt to put a ſtop to it, which he did in No. 15. by declaring he would write no more on that head; or elſe this unconſtitutional letter ſhould have been publiſhed.

that

that every friend of the church of England will applaud his bringing ſuch underhand tranſactions to the public view: and will for the future dread a PRESBYTERIAN faction as much as a POPISH one.

No. 3. Wedneſday, July 13, 1763.

It is impoſſible but that offences will come: but woe unto him through whom they come.

St. Luke, ch. xvii. ver. 1.

I moſt ſincerely congratulate every true Engliſhman, every friend of liberty, and every diſintereſted ſubject, on the righteous verdicts of Wedneſday and Thurſday laſt. From hence let the tools of power know, that Engliſh liberty is not to be ſported with. That the ſubject is as certain of redreſs from the firſt officer of ſtate, as from the meaneſt magiſtrate in the moſt contemptible borough. That the united eloquence of all the ſtate lawyers, can neither alter laws or facts. And that ſacred Engliſh liberty, handed down

to

to us by our anceſtors, at the expence of their blood and treaſure, ſhall never be infringed with impunity. Theſe are the glorious leſſons from thoſe verdicts!

I am, and ever will be, a zealous ſupporter of the dignity of the crown; but no court ſophiſtry ſhall ever perſuade me, that becauſe I love my ſovereign, I muſt, with a blind zeal, applaud the iniquity or ignorance of his ſervants. No; 'tis the flatterer, the temporizer, and penſioner, that out of ſelf-regard indiſcriminately applaud the actions of the powerful. But the honeſt man will deem it the baſeſt of crimes even to remain ſilent, when the public ſervants acts inconſiſtent with their duty to their king, and the welfare of the people.

The late attack on the liberty of the preſs, that liberty which is a guardian to all other liberties, by informing the whole kingdom of an individual's wrong, was attended with more aggravating circumſtances than can be parallelled in the hiſtory of any free country in Europe. The iſſuing a general indiſcriminate warrant,

rant, to take into cuſtody printers, publiſhers, and authors, without name or deſcription; without previous determination of the papers being criminal; without oath, to ground the proceeding on; without a better pretence than deceitful private tittle-tattle, or fallacious public report, was a tranſaction that muſt make every Engliſhman ſhudder, and can never be juſtified but by the parties, and their coadjutors, who having juſtly ſuffered by the liberty of the preſs, would, to private pique, ſacrifice national welfare.

The ſuppoſed offence of the plaintiffs was, as journeymen printers, having aſſiſted in printing a libel: the fact was, that they were abſolutely innocent. When we conſider the verdict abſtractedly, as giving a journeyman printer, for one day's confinement, more than he could earn in five years, we are apt to ſuppoſe it extravagant; but when we conſider it, in the general view, that a man of the loweſt rank is as much a free ſubject, and an object of legal protection, as a duke;

and

and that the officer, who with impunity infringes our charter of liberties in the leaſt degree, will ſoon be hardy enough to be regardleſs of its contents: I ſay, when the caſe is conſidered in this general light, we can ſcarcely conceive a ſum adequate to the loſs of liberty! The crime was aggravated by the aggreſſors being ſervants of the crown, and the cauſe barefacedly ſupported by the miniſtry, and all the ſtate lawyers of eminence bawling in defence of tyranny and oppreſſion. Such the wretched ſituation of a poor ſubject injured by a man in power! He muſt contend with the riches of the treaſury, and the low craft of Norton, and would ever fall a victim to the tyrant gaſp of power, was not the independance of a JURY, and the uprightneſs of the JUDGE, unfailing BARRIERS.

I ſhall conclude this day's paper with ſome general obſervations on ſtate proceedings in regard to libels. I apprehend, that they are wholly illegal, and unjuſtifiable.

fiable. They have always treated libels and treaſonable papers in the ſame manner. There can be no doubt, but on legal ſuſpicion of treaſon, the ſecretaries of ſtate, or any common magiſtrate, may order a man and his papers to be ſeized; and the contents of a bureau may ſubject the owner to the penalties of high treaſon; but a libel is no offence in itſelf, the crime conſiſts in the publication. It is a determined caſe (ſee 2 Brownlow 157, and 1 Lev. 139.) that writing the moſt ſcandalous paper that can be conceived, and ſending it to the party abuſed, it is no libel, nor is it actionable; but if communicated to a third perſon, it would be both. The reaſon is obvious; a perſon might as well be puniſhed for thinking without ſpeaking, as for writing without publication. From whence I infer, that the papers in a man's own cuſtody cannot be libels; and that no law can juſtify taking or ſeizing any part of property, that is not in itſelf criminal: ſo that a ſubject ought to be left in the quiet poſ-

ſeſſion

ſeſſion of his libels, even ſuppoſing them to be ſuch, as any other part of his property. If there is a law that will juſtify taking innocent papers, becauſe, if publiſhed, they would be criminal; that law, wherever found, will juſtify cutting out a politician's tongue, becauſe, if left in, he may ſpeak treaſon. I ſee no limitation to ſtate power, if ſuffered to exceed the bound of law or juſtice in the ſmalleſt inſtance. If to ſeize innocent papers, why not deeds? If deeds, why not the eſtate? If the property, why not the perſon? If the perſon, then life will become worthleſs; for there is no true Engliſhman breathing, when he has loſt liberty and property, but will think death a favour. I hope future SECRETARIES will enjoy the benefit of this VERDICT, and will join with Ovid,

Felix, quem faciunt, aliena pericula cautum.

B. X. P.

No.

No. 4. Wedneſday, July 20, 1763.

While theſe do labour for their own preferment,
Behoves it us to labour for their realm.

SHAKESPEAR.

I WAS ſitting a few days ſince at a city coffee-houſe, and was led to meditate on the baſeneſs of human nature, by ſeeing one man as anxious in devouring the property of another, as the moſt voracious wild beaſt is its natural prey: no ties of friendſhip, relations, or country, can ſecure one from rapacious man! Engroſſed in thought, and making many compariſons, more to the honour of the real brute, than the acquired brutiſm of mankind, I was doubly alarmed: the ſenſe of ſmelling pronounced I had got into a kennel of foxes, while a ſlow hoarſe grumbling at my ear, made me conceive my next neighbour a bear: but on turning to the right I was relieved fromall my foreſtial fears, and found that both the ſenſations proceeded from the vicinitude

of a Scotchman, who by my ſolemnity, having conceived me to be an author, had ſat down by me to aſk my advice, and had grouled out many words before I had taken the alarm. On my paying him due attention he gave me the news-paper of the day, which contained the following very remarkable paragraph.

" It is ſaid that at the meeting of par-
" liament, petitions from the ſeveral bo-
" roughs in Scotlandwill be preſented to
" the houſe, requeſting redreſs from the
" many virulent papers lately publiſhed,
" tending to raiſe diſſentions and diſturb-
" ances between the North and South
" Britons, and to alienate the affections
" of the former, from the latter, to the
" danger of both."

After I had peruſed the above article he began a long panegyric on his countrymen, from lord Bute down to the Scotch peruke-maker, in Knaves-acre, and Mackintoſh the cobler, in Thieving-lane. He enlarged on their profound learning, and inſiſted that a profeſſor of Aberdeen had more

more learning in his little finger than the whole body of profeſſors in Oxford and Cambridge. He did not forget to narrate the excellencies of the peace, the greatneſs of the cyder tax, the propriety of extending the exciſe, the raſcallity of the North Briton, and the fatal conſequence of the Engliſh diſobliging the Scotch; and then informed me he was deputed by twenty-ſeven Scotch boroughs to *advocate* their petition, and that the reaſon of his troubling me was to *crave my doing it into Engliſh.* The oddity of the requeſt, and a deſire to ſee the petition, made me comply, and in about two hours I unſcotchified it, to the intire ſatisfaction of my new acquired friend; and the following is a true copy.

The petition of the LOYAL provoſt and magiſtrates of the antient and royal borough of ——— in ———ſhire.

Humbly ſhewing,

"That emboldened by their unqueſtionable virtues, ſuch as an unſhaken

zeal, time immemorial, for the cauſe of liberty, an unbiaſſed attachment to the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, their well-known peaceable diſpoſition, their deteſtation to the tyrant family of the Stuarts, and their antipathy to rebellions, they claim ſatisfaction for the manifold inſults received from the factious Engliſh.

" Be it remembered, that at the earneſt requeſt, and out of compaſſion to the Engliſh, in the reign of queen Anne, they ſullied all their antient glory and dignity, by uniting with ſo paultry a ſet of traffickers, whoſe genealogy ſcarcely extended to the knowledge of their grandfathers.

" That out of love, affection, and humanity, they have from time to time come into England, thereby greatly improving and civilizing the nation, enriching the people, by ſpending their vaſt fortunes among them, and eſtabliſhing their delicate cuſtoms.

" That as a farther inſtance of eſteem, a Scot condeſcended to become the firſt lord of the treaſury, and it was intended,

if

if the Engliſh had been peaceable, and behaved with decency, to have relieved them from the trouble of all civil and military offices that are profitable.

" That among other ineſtimable bleſſings, the Engliſh are beholden to the Scotch for the moſt excellent peace; by which the Havannah, Martinique, Guadaloupe, Mariegalante, Deſirade, St. Peter, Pondicherry, Goree, Belleiſle, and many other unprofitable and uſeleſs conqueſts that were become incumbrances, are aſſigned over to our good friends, the French and Spaniards.

" But above all, the Engliſh are beholden to the incomparable Scotch miniſtry for that unexceptionable, and univerſally applauded, tax on cyder, for the extenſion of that darling of a free country, the exciſe; for the expulſion of thoſe ignorant unſucceſsful and unpopular miniſters, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, and for routing many of the prime nobility, whoſe whig principles made them dangerous to the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover.

" For theſe and many other reaſons equally cogent, which to recite would make a folio, they have a right to inſiſt, that the following penalties and prohibitions may be made by ſtatute.

" It appearing to them that the perſon known by the name of John Wilkes, is the devil incarnate; they command that the ſaid devil ſhall be drowned, burnt, or otherwiſe effectually deſtroyed.

" That the author of *Famine* ſhall be confined for the remainder of his life in the cave he has ſo well deſcribed.

" That all places of profit may be given to the Scotch, as a poor reward for their many ſervices, and that it may be death for an Engliſhman to murmur.

" That it may be death to mention itch, penſions, brimſtone, oatmeal, œconomy, bare poſteriors, haggis, Agis king of Sparta, or any thing elſe that makes the Scotch ridiculous.

" That all writers for the Scotch, like the Auditor and Briton, ſhall have full licence for ſcandal, defamation, and every

ſpecies

ſpecies of falſhood, but to publiſh diſagreeable truth againſt them ſhall be baniſhment.

"That the Scotch WILL ſhall be law; and the Engliſh LAW, for the future, the Scotch WILL.

"On theſe conditions, we ſhall continue in friendſhip, but if not granted, *look to it! we'll do it! look to it.*

July 2, 1763. Vivant Butus & Rex."

B. X. P.

No. 5. Wedneſday, July 27, 1763.

Quos Jupiter vult perdere, prius DEMENTAT.

TERENCE.

ONE of the earlieſt obſervations made by man, in the rude ſtate of nature, without the help of revealed religion, or ſcientific culture, was, that ſome all-wiſe, ſupreme being, had the direction of the univerſe, and that nothing was the product of mere chance. The next conſequential inference was, that the ſame

directing power interfered in the affairs of men. That ſome of the moſt virtuous were protected; and others, by an unaccountable ſupernatural infatuation, induſtriouſly ſought their own ruin. Had theſe ideas been totally obliterated for more than ten centuries, the ſtrange and ſelf-deſtructive conduct of the late Scottiſh miniſtry would have revived and eſtabliſhed the doctrine with redoubled force.

We ſaw a man at their head, whoſe talents were well adapted to make him amiable in private life: affluence of fortune always commands reſpect, and in riches he was rivalled by few; he was beloved by his prince; he was careſſed by the artiſts and literati; his judgment in each, when unbiaſſed by national prejudice, was equal to moſt: his inclination to promote, inferior to none. Thus happily ſituated, and ſure of being one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed private men in the kingdom, his curſed ſtars engaged him in politics, and by his conduct eclipſed all his private virtues.

Though

Though he was ſo infatuated as to aſſume the unconſtitutional, dangerous, and difficult office of prime miniſter, yet he was deſtitute of every requiſite for its proper execution. He was not even a native of the country he intended to rule. He had not the leaſt pretence to popularity. He never had ſet in the miniſterial ſchool, the houſe of commons. He was totally ignorant of national affairs; and to add to his misfortune, the wretched Scots, in whom he moſt confided, and by whom he was principally directed, were more ignorant and obnoxious than himſelf.

Let this fatal inſtance of pride, and thirſt of power, be handed down to the lateſt poſterity, to deter other happy men ſeeking their own miſery. But ſuch is the fallacious reaſoning of all mankind in regard to themſelves, that I fear this will be as uſeleſs to others, as the many hiſtorical facts, of the unhappy lives and fatal exits of favourites and obnoxious miniſters, have been to the late dictator.

Not-

Notwithſtanding a man was ſo infatuated as to launch thus far out of his element, yet one ſhould have ſuppoſed, that he would have taken care to have engaged the moſt able men in the kingdom to act in conjunction with him; but the exact contrary was the fact; merit was wholly diſregarded, and nothing attended to, but the taking off the leaders of parties. The ableſt financer in Europe was left at his country retirement, and his place ſupplied by a perſon, more ignorant of national buſineſs, than a ploughman is of navigation. The whole compoſition was of the ſame ſort. It was a medley of leading tories, fiery preſbyterians, and hungry Scotchmen, who from their different views of profit, and luſt of power, were ſilly enough to take on them the management of Britiſh affairs; and ſo arrogant, as to call this ſtate-oleo by the reſpectable title of a miniſtry.

When I ſaid the whole, I did not mean to include every individual; I only mean ten to one, or a very large majority. I am conſcious

conſcious there is a man among them (perhaps there may be more) whoſe conduct and abilities had made him amiable in England, and deſervedly the greateſt favourite of Ireland. Why he joined with this medley, and by debaſing himſelf gave them a ſanction, is a queſtion often aſked, and is a queſtion which may be reſolved in the words of Romeo's apothecary.

However unequal this compoſite miniſtry was to the proper management of the national affairs; though they had made an inadequate peace; though by low arts and paultry intrigue they had ſupplanted the ableſt miniſtry England ever boaſted; though Engliſh merit was daily ſacrificed to Scots arrogance, and profuſion aſſumed the title of œconomy; yet the regard the Engliſh had to their moſt amiable ſovereign, made them with ſome degree of patience ſubmit to their manifold injuries, becauſe they were told, that he approved of this miniſterial hodge-podge.

The

The abatement of popular clamour encouraged theſe tyrannic upſtarts to lay aſide the maſk, and promote to the utmoſt of their power, ſuch laws as would curtail Engliſh liberty: the moſt effectual method was to extend the exciſe, and the exciſe was therefore their darling object; they with unparallelled ſecrecy and diſpatch procured a tax on cyder, the mention of which makes every friend of liberty tremble, whereby every man's private manſion, till now held ſacred, is expoſed to the inſpection of the loweſt and moſt abandoned of ſtate emiſſaries, the exciſe officers; and his property at the command of theſe reptiles, without the interpoſition of a JURY.

If we, like the antients, ſuppoſed that a particular deity preſided over the affairs of each nation, we might with the greateſt reaſon apprehend, that the Scotch genius was either dead, falſe, ſuperannuated, or like Paul's guardian angel, in Mr. Hogarth's print, had got dead drunk, and gone faſt aſleep, when the Scotch miniſtry reſolved

reſolved on the extenſion of the exciſe, and put it into execution.

Thus a ſelf-deſtructive infatuation attended the meaſures of theſe Scots: that they ſeem to have been promoted to be the more compleatly ruined: for when they conceived ſecurity, they met their own ſought deſtruction. Thus fell a junto by their own folly and oppreſſion, that had ſtood the oppoſition of the ableſt and beſt men in the kingdom: and the leader, after having been a few months in power, returned to his former private ſtation with an unparallelled odium and contempt, that, had he not interfered in politics, he would have enjoyed to his death with univerſal eſteem and approbation.

B. X. P.

No. 6. Wedneſday, Auguſt 3, 1763.

——— *namque hoc tempore*
Obſequium amicos, veritas odium parat.
TER.

FROM my little penetration, I apprehend the tottering cauſe of the court writers to be more deſperate than ever, by the determination of the truly independant general meeting of the county of Surry, at Croydon. This is the moſt impartial ſenſe of a county that has been taken. They were ſummoned by a court ſheriff, and every miniſterial tool had at leaſt three weeks to hire a horſe, borrow boots, and redeem his coat; ſo that there being only two voices for an addreſs on the ſuperlatively glorious TEMPORARY peace, makes it too evident that thoſe who applaud it do it on venal terms; and that thoſe wretches are not freeholders.

I therefore moſt earneſtly adviſe the learned court writers to diſguiſe, miſrepreſent, or contradict every fact; otherwiſe,

wiſe, the conſequence may be more fatal than at preſent appears; for it may diſcover to a certain GREAT MAN, that the addreſſes the public have for two months paſt been amuſed with, from all parts of the kingdom, were compoſed in Middleſex; that they were no more the ſenſe of thoſe county freeholders whoſe names they bore, than of the wild Arabs who never heard of the peace; but were obtained by a placed or penſioned lord lieutenant's ſneaking into a parlour of his dependants, or coming incog. to a quarter ſeſſion dinner, and half a dozen ſigning for the whole county, depending on the improbability of a public contradiction.

As I moſt ſincerely recommend every art to be uſed to conceal theſe terrible facts, I will, with great freedom, lend my friendly aid in this good cauſe, and ſubmit my opinion of what I think moſt adviſeable. In the firſt place, follow the example of that STEADY, DISINTERESTED patriot, the AUDITOR, who never wrote for REWARD, or changed ſides out of

PIQUE;

PIQUE; he, on a ſomewhat ſimilar occaſion, when lord Bute's health was refuſed at a county meeting, ingenuouſly turned it into ridicule, and told the public, that their actions were not to be regarded, becauſe they were country eſquires. I think this hint may be uſeful, and you may logically argue thus:

The meeting at Croydon conſiſted of country ſquires;

But country eſquires are fools, and always judge wrong:

ERGO, the peace is GOOD becauſe the eſquires at Croydon ſaid it was BAD.

In the next place, ſingle out two or three of the principal perſons preſent, and then read the life of Mr. Jonathan Wild, or colonel Chartries, the Scotch worthy; and apply every thing you find to the preſent parties. This has been done already with great ſucceſs, in the caſe of Mr. Wilkes. Though the flightineſs of his diſpoſition, and the gaiety of his youth, had drawn him into imprudences, that with all the addition of the malice and

rancour

rancour of party-writers were ill adapted to a public news-paper (as moſt mens private affairs are) yet I can ſafely aſſert, that he was abſolutely innocent of ninety-nine in the hundred of the crimes laid to his charge; but true or falſe, they had their effect, and the groſſeſt infringement on the liberty of an Engliſhman, and member of parliament, has been, in a great meaſure, over-looked by the people, becauſe they were taught by court emiſſaries to believe him a bad man. Therefore let Mr. Mawbey, the unplaced and truly independent member of the borough of Southwark, be abuſed, and every crime in hell's regiſter laid to his charge. Pray be totally regardleſs of facts, for they cramp an advocate for the preſent miniſtry: though he has a very good perſon, you muſt ſwear he ſquints, that he is lame, the bridge of his noſe rotted away, all emaciated with vice, and ſuch a ſpectacle, that your wives miſcarry at the ſight of him, and your children go into fits; to compleat the idea of his deformity, let

Mr. William Hogarth draw his pug-dog or his own viſage, and call it Mr. Mawbey drawn from the life. It happens moſt unfortunately, that this gentleman lives in the greateſt happineſs with his wife; but as nothing prejudices mankind, or at leaſt womankind, ſo compleatly againſt a man, as the apprehenſion of his uſing his wife ill, therefore, like good political writers, diſregard the fact, and aſſert he has left her forlorn and friendleſs. The reaſon of my inſiſting ſo much on this head of private abuſe is, to enable the people about the GREAT MAN to carry on the deceit, and confirm him in the groſſeſt of Scotch falſities, that the Scotch meaſures are only oppoſed by the abandoned. As the GREAT MAN is both good and ſenſible, he will naturally aſk, how it could happen in Surry, that out of four hundred, only two perſons approved of a meaſure, that many counties, even in Scotland, the very ſeat of rebellion, had highly applauded within a twelvemonth? To avoid this diſagreeable queſtion, ſay, that Surry

Surry is a moſt diſaffected county, (never mind facts) that the majority of the meeting were Popiſh prieſts, rank tories, and rebel Scots, and of courſe enemies to the preſent Hanoverian Whig miniſtry. And leſt it ſhould be aſked, why the honeſt worthy friends of the miniſtry did not attend? I would ſay, that the BRUISERS, who eſcorted a popular man into the city, and to Windſor, were planted at all the avenues, and knocked down all the worthies, that from diſintereſted principles came to do juſtice to our excellent miniſtry, by applauding their moſt glorious peace.

I ſhall conclude, leaving the other neceſſary forgeries to the Scotch ſtate-writers own ingenuity; only begging them not to forget, that Mr. Mawbey is a diſtiller, and that Southwark is in Surry; both which may be uſeful to facilitate ſcandal. Promote the grand arrogant Scotch aſſeveration, that all in office are VIRTUOUS, and friends to their country; that all their opponents are the greateſt of villains,

and known TRAITORS, for tho' no aſſertion was ever more completely falſe, yet it is neceſſary to be ſupported. B. X. P.

No. 7. Wedneſday, Auguſt 10, 1763.

Quod virtute effici debet, id tentatur pecunia.
CICERO.

TOLERATION is a religious liberty which I hope will remain unviolated; for it gives me leſs concern to ſee bigotry and folly infuſing themſelves through the whole kingdom by methodiſm, than it would to have a few good well-meaning chriſtians deprived of the liberty of worſhipping God in the manner they think moſt acceptable. But I ſhall ever ſee with the greateſt indignation, under the ſanction of a religious toleration, a venal, mercenary, time-ſerving JUNTO, formed into a civil CABAL, and, for certain premiums, becoming the tame, ſubmiſſive TOOLS of the baſeſt, and moſt corrupt adminiſtrations; while, without

without rewards, they oppoſe the moſt unexceptionable and virtuous meaſures.

Tho' law-craft has often ſtigmatized unqueſtionable facts with being libels, I am confident, common ſenſe will not pronounce truth, prejudice. I will therefore narrate the NOBLE and DISINTERESTED actions of the diſſenters, and leave mankind to deſcant on their various VIRTUES.

In the reign of that truly pious and virtuous, though fatally obſtinate, or, in the phraſe of the preſent times, that STEADY Scotch-Engliſh monarch, Charles the firſt, who, by his zeal for his prerogative, and attachment to a bad, tyrannical, and unpopular miniſtry, obliged the beſt men in the kingdom to be his opponents: the diſſenters availed themſelves of the confuſion of the times, and, by every wicked method that could be purſued, intirely ſubverted the conſtitutution in church and ſtate: making a mockery of the law, by a ſet of fanatics aſſuming ſupreme authority by their own

ſpontaneous creation. They were hardy enough to give a ſanction to their murderous order, by each traitor's ſigning the warrant: and to complete their wicked deeds, imbrued their hands in the blood of their ſovereign, on a public ſcaffold.

The uſurper Cromwell's ſhort reign is a ſufficient inſtance of preſbyterian tyranny in church and ſtate; and the unparalleled rejocings that extended thro' the whole kingdom, at the return of monarchy in the profligate perſon of Charles the ſecond, is a clear proof that, by fatal experience, the people found the tyranny of preſbyterianiſm, of all evils, the moſt intolerable.

When that popiſh bigot, James the ſecond, aſcended the throne, the diſſenters were patronized, in order, in the general train, to mix with the catholics: ſuperficial as the diſgrace was, the temporizing intereſted preſbyterians choſe to be blind, and once more from ſelfiſh motives, made the unnatural compact for the

the ſubverſion of the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed; and, for the ſake of profit, became the tools of popery.

However zealous the diſſenters are at preſent in celebrating the memory of king William, by eating and drinking in the glorious cauſe; yet in eighty-eight, the diſſenters ſo tempered their zeal, that they very cooly ſat ſtill, to ſee who ſucceeded, before they exerted themſelves. His highneſs remained ſome time at Exeter without any perſon coming to his aſſiſtance; and then, among thoſe, who had ſpirit and patriotiſm enough to riſque their lives and fortunes in the cauſe of God and their country, few or none were diſſenters.

In the tory adminiſtration of queen Anne, the diſſenters (I ſpeak it to their honour, for I will not conceal their little virtue) were nobly zealous in oppoſition to thoſe wicked tory doctrines of the preſent times, of paſſive obedience, and non-reſiſtance, and many other baſe and ſiniſter arts made uſe of by the tories,

to exclude the houſe of Hanover, and re-eſtabliſh the Stuarts, by bringing in the pretender. Every impartial man muſt allow, that we are beholden to the duke of Newcaſtle, the whigs and diſſenters, for our civil and religious liberty. But the preſbyterian preſent junction with the Scotch tory miniſter, has ſullied all their honour as a body, and ſtrongly marked that noble oppoſition to proceed from a pique. Queen Anne's miniſtry, with a ſincerity that muſt be univerſally allowed to be laudable, ſcorned, like the preſent tories, to careſs the people they intended to deſtroy; and inſtead of deluding them with PRESENTS out of the TREASURY, made an act to prohibit any diſſenter from teaching ſchool, which was apparently deſigned to annihilate the body; and from this proceeded their ſteady, but ſelfiſh oppoſition.

Since this time, the conduct of the diſſenters has been one uniform venal proceeding. Regardleſs of every principle of honour, or national welfare, they have

have indiſcriminately ſupported every miniſter, by whom they were paid. When the arch-corruptor became prime miniſter, and openly purchaſed the votes of the repreſentatives and conſtituents, Sir Robert Walpole and the diſſenters were cloſely united in the bonds of corruption and ſelf-intereſt. When Sir Robert fell, and the opponents to his evil meaſures, for peerages and penſions ſold their country and themſelves, and were metamorphoſed from the moſt exalted patriotic characters, to the moſt inſignificant and contemptible of faithleſs ſtate miſcreants; I ſay, when the grand corruptor fell, and the management of the national affairs was aſſumed by the dregs of his miniſtry, the diſſenters, like true ſtate leeches, ſtuck to preferment.

Had the diſſenters acted one ſteady part, had they always been attached to the cauſe of liberty, the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, and the whig intereſt, their zeal in ſupport of the Gemini would have been laudable; we ſhould have ſuppoſed

it

it a grateful return for the many ſervices his grace had done to the cauſe of liberty, in the latter part of queen Anne's reign. But when we ſee their connections with the Pelhams were only becauſe they were powerful; when we ſee the good old duke, that real friend of the whigs, and enemy of toryiſm, forſaken, abuſed, and treated with contempt by his former preſbyterian attendants and flatterers; when we ſee them follow power, and idolize an upſtart united tory Scot; we muſt look on them as the moſt mercenary, venal TOOLS of adminiſtration, that ever EXISTED. Whigs and Pelhamites for 1500 l. tories and Butites for 2000 l. and for five hundred more liſting under the DEVIL or Fox.

This, O ye diſſenters! is a mirror held to you by your friend, if one who ſhows you your deformities can be allowed to be ſuch: don't endeavour to hide truth under falſehood, but "take ſhame to "yourſelves," and, "go ſin no more;" be no longer the undiſtinguiſhed ſlaves of

of power for pecuniary rewards, but like M. Curius Dentatus, refuſe the bribes offered by the betrayers of your country. Be contented with your toleration, which may you enjoy "as long as the ſun and "moon endures;" but never wiſh to eſtabliſh preſbyterianiſm inſtead of epiſcopacy; for it cannot be done but by wading up to your chins in blood, and committing crimes like thoſe of your anceſtors, the adherents of that traitor and tyrant, the hypocritical CROMWELL.

To convince my readers that theſe ideas of diſſenting venality are not founded on the prejudices of yeſterday, I ſhall conclude to-day's paper with a quotation from that celebrated political paper, the Examiner, No. XXI. publiſhed December 1710.

"I think it is generally allowed by "enemies and friends, that the bold and "brave defences made before the revo-"lution, againſt thoſe many invaſions "of our rights, proceeded principally "from the clergy; who are likewiſe

"known

" known, to have rejected all advances
" made to them to close with the mea-
" sures at that time concerting; while
" the dissenters, to gratify their ambition
" and revenge, fell into the basest com-
" pliances of the court, approved of all
" proceedings by numerous and FUL-
" SOME ADDRESSES, and took employ-
" ments and commissions by virtue of
" the dispensing power, against the di-
" rect laws of the land. All this is so
" true, that if the pretender comes in,
" they will next to those of his own reli-
" gion, have the fairest claim and pre-
" tensions to his favour, from their me-
" rit and eminent services to his supposed
" father; who without such encourage-
" ment, would probably never have been
" so misled to go the lengths he did."

B. X. P.

No.

No. 8. Wedneſday, Auguſt 17, 1763.

Parum claris lucem dare coget. HOR.

THERE is a general policy purſued by all mankind in their various ſituations, which is to guard againſt their natural RIVALS. Self-intereſt is ſo prevalent in moſt mens actions, that the profeſſions of friendſhip, when inconſiſtent with their apparent, and avowed purſuits, are always to be ſuſpected. Nations, and private perſons, ſtudy their own intereſt, and publicly profeſs an intire diſregard of it. Pretenſions to virtue are ſo very general, that even the thief at the gallows, and the prime-miniſter, are bare-faced enough to claim it: they each repreſent their proſcutors, or opponents, as the moſt abandoned of wretches, and tell you, that their ſuperior virtue has been their deſtruction. Collective bodies act on the ſame principle as individuals; and the rulers of a nation endeavour to delude

lude their rivals, as much as the farmer ſtudies to deceive his landlord. From theſe general principles, I infer, that whenever two nations become dangerous to each other, they ought to keep double guard, and take it for granted, that the ſalute, like Judas's, is to betray. England and France are at preſent in this ſituation, as much as Rome and Carthage were formerly. France has long ſince avowed her deſign of univerſal monarchy, and England's naval ſtrength is, perhaps, the only curb to her power: ſo that England may be called the guardian of the world, againſt the enterpriſes of France. The moſt ſolemn treaties between nations ought no more to be regarded than the promiſes of a captive robber; each, when in danger, will engage any thing that appears beneficial to themſelves, and as ſoon as the danger is over, diſregard them wholly; the robber will deſtroy the perſon that gave him life and liberty; and the French, attempt the ruin of thoſe that returned them Martinico, Guadaloupe,

loupe, &c. Therefore, though I do not carry my concluſion ſo far as Cato with Carthage, that, delenda eſt Gallia; yet, I will lay down this as a maxim, that the French, from their known fidelity, ought NEVER TO BE TRUSTED. I ſhall now proceed to the narration of a fact, which is one of the glorious inſtances, of the ability and integrity, of the moſt faithful, diſcerning, ADEQUATE Scotch miniſtry.

A native of France, whoſe family and friends were, and are faithful ſubjects to the French king, and reſide at this time in the French dominions, came into England ſometime ſince, in the capacity of a tutor. The dictator's brother, being on his departure to his ambaſſy; and this gentleman being recommended to him, for a man of abilities, and complete knowledge in the French language, he was engaged in the ambaſſador's ſervice, as an under-ſecretary. I believe a Frenchman's having the moſt diſtant connection with ſtate affairs, will appear extremely wrong to every true Engliſhman; yet,

to

to his Scotch maſter, it appeared otherwiſe, who procured him a reward for his ſervices, not out of his own pocket, but a penſion of 200 l. a year, to be paid to his private ſervant, by the public: for in this, Scotch œconomy differs from Engliſh generoſity! All this, though it appears to me very wrong, is not what I have to complain of: it is, that this NATIVE OF FRANCE, this man, whoſe friends are all natives and reſidents in FRANCE, whoſe natural affections, one may conclude, are for FRANCE, and who of courſe, is ready to betray England, or at leaſt, to neglect her intereſt; I ſay, this true FRENCHMAN is, at this time, appointed AN ENGLISH RESIDENT, at a court of the greateſt importance, and is ſole manager of Engliſh affairs. The affair requires no comment, ſo I ſhall conclude.

B. X. P.

No. 9. Wedneſday, Auguſt 24, 1763.

Nil orturum alias, nil ortum tale fatentes.

HOR.

A Dialogue between JOHN TROT, Eſq; and WILLIAM BRUSH, the Humouriſt and Houſe-Painter *.

Trot. I BEG pardon for intruſion; but I have laid out a ſhilling on a print of a bear, and a dog, and a pot of porter, and ragged ruffles, and a lying ſtaff, and a band, and a begging-box, and a pallet, and many other things, which make ſo ſtrange a compoſition, that I am at a loſs to underſtand the meaning.

Bruſh. The bear is a parſon——

* The once ingenious Mr. Hogarth publiſhed a ſtrange print at this time, which he deſigned as a ſatire on Mr. Charles Churchill, in revenge for his admirable epiſtle addreſſed to Hogarth; but was ſuch a collection of old trumpery, that inſtead of ſerving the ſuperannuated painter, it made him ten times more contemptible.

Tr. The bear a parſon! I have found many parſons that have been bears, but never heard of a bear that was a parſon.

Br. You country gentlemen are rather dull; the bear is a parſon, or was a parſon, and I am ſure the parſon is a bear: for he has ſucked all the honey of my former reputation, and has made me an aſs: he has ſo clawed me, that I ſhall be ſore as long as I live. Live, did I ſay! I han't lived ſince: nor ever ſhall again.

Tr. Why this account of a parſon is to me a new idea, as indeed is your parſon bruin. You han't made him hands, but paws with talons. The country parſons I have met with have no paws, nor talons.

Br. O, Sir! this is a very different thing to a country parſon; I had rather had a ſcratching from every country parſon in England, Wales, and the town of Berwick on Tweed, than onec law from this half parſon, or no parſon, or I know not what ſort of a parſon!

Tr. How came this bear, as you call him, to attack you? What, did you ſet this

this old ſecond-hand pug-dog of your's at his heels, or did he water in his ſhoes, as I ſee he can't hold his water.

Br. No, Sir; I'll tell you; he was the aggreſſor. I am, Sir, you know, and all the world knows, the greateſt painter that ever exiſted in ———

Tr. What greater than Raphael!

Br. Raphael! mine a ——! that univerſal admiration of his works is an inſtance of the folly of mankind. Did you ever ſee his transfiguration? Did you mind his mountain? Why, a London ſcavenger wou'd put the whole mountain in his cart at once, and ſhoot it into a dung boat. Did you ever ſee my Paul before Felix? or my Sigiſmunda? or my pictures at Briſtol? there is art in perfection, there is colouring, there is expreſſion, drawing, dignity; in ſhort, every thing! all the beauties of the ancients united with the excellencies of the moderns.

Tr. Pray, Sir, who did you ſay painted theſe wonderful pictures?

Br. Who, Sir? I, Sir! I am he that has culled the merit of the Italian, Dutch, and Flemiſh ſchools; and, with my own improvements, bring them forth with double luſtre. I have found ſome difficulty to perſuade the world of theſe moſt undoubted facts; for they rather fancy me a humouriſt, than a ſerious, hiſtorical painter: but I deſpiſe fun: I have always painted tragedy. All mankind are fools: they ſuppoſed my Maraiage A-la-mode, a comedy, when in reality it was a deeper tragedy than Macbeth: for I deſtroyed all the principal characters, in order to make it woeful. Then, as a politician, I am a moſt extraordinary one; did you ever ſee my Times?

Tr. I have; and was ſorry to ſee the greateſt man in his way employ his moſt excellent talents in blaſting the reputation of the SAVIOUR of his country. Blaſting, did I ſay! no: the conqueſts and infinite benefits received from this great man, that you have pretended to burleſque in your times, are ſuch, that

no

no time can eraſe the name of Pitt from the memories of the grateful Engliſh.

Br. Come, Sir, don't be furious, I am ſtate houſe-painter, and I was ordered to paint the great man out of vogue; as much as the preſbyterians, and others, were ordered to addreſs him into diſgrace. I have ſix hundred a year for being pliant; and for half the money I would have abuſed all the twelve apoſtles.

Tr. I beg we may return from this political digreſſion: I called for an explanation of your print, and if you'll favour me I ſhall be much obliged to you.

Br. The bear, Sir, is an emblem of that great wit, and ſatiriſt, Charles Churchill.

Tr. A bear an emblem of wit! why, I always thought a bear the emblem of ſtupidity.

Br. I don't care what it was, I tell you that a bear at preſent is a wit; that the pot of porter is to ſhew the brightneſs of his parts; the club, how he knocked me down; the dog watering ſhews, that the

very title page puts us in a fright; and all the other things ſignify as much as they did when they were added to the print of myſelf.

Tr. Well, Sir, I am ſorry to tell you, that I think you are ſuperannuated; that you are as remarkably dull at this time, as you were once clever: I therefore adviſe you, never more to venture any new production into the world, leſt the folly of the preſent ſhould eclipſe the excellency of the former; and the next age ſhould divide the works of the great humouriſt into two claſſes; the one, the moſt excellent that was ever produced, and the other, the moſt contemptible.

B. X. P.

No. 10. Wedneſday, Auguſt 31, 1763.

There is no peace, ſaith my God, to the wicked.
Iſaiah, ch. lvii. ver. 1.

THE moſt glorious æra of Engliſh hiſtory, will be the firſt year of the reign of George the third; we were ingaged in a war, that did the greateſt honour to the conductors of it, by an amazing and unparalleled ſeries of ſucceſſes, that did equal honor to the Engliſh as a body, by the great alacrity with which they contributed to the reduction of their implacable enemy. This JUST and moſt NECESSARY war was ſo remarkably favored by providence, that our enemies were reduced to accept of a peace on our own terms; or to remain in a ſtate of impotency, deprived of their moſt valuable poſſeſſions, which the united force of all Europe could not wreſt out of our hands. It was at this time that the SCOT ſeized the helm, and vainly conceived by little arts to rule this intelligent ſtate. Such

an upſtart could not be abſurd enough to conceive himſelf equal to the management of the war, he therefore declared for peace; all his miſcreants pretended our glorious war would be our deſtruction, and KINDLY ENDEAVORED TO SAVE US by an ignominious PEACE; but as the workers of iniquity can ſeldom or never keep their own counſel, it ſoon became apparent, that their zeal for peace was upon the moſt paultry principle of ſelf-intereſt, in oppoſition to national welfare. They ſaw the Scotch dictator unequal both to conducting the war, and to the raiſing money. A peace they vainly conceived would make them eaſy in both reſpects. Peace was therefore ſollicited, and at laſt obtained. As it was too apparent to our enemies, as well as ourſelves, that theſe Scots would have a peace at all events, the conquered ſoon talked in the ſtile of conquerors, and dictated terms to the miſtreſs of the world; and the Scots baſely purchaſed a peace, with thoſe glorious acquiſitions

that

that had been obtained in the illuſtrious adminiſtration of the diſcarded PITT.

Has this peace anſwered the end intended by the dictator, and his mercenary tools? no; they find the fatal truth of my motto, "THAT THERE IS NO "PEACE TO THE WICKED." I remember in that happy period, when his preſent majeſty aſcended the throne, among the many UNSOLLICITED addreſſes, the artiſts of Great Britain, out of ſincere regard to their moſt amiable ſovereign, expreſſed their zeal in an addreſs. It was wrote by an author who does hackney work; I have forgot his name, but I believe I can deſcribe him; he wrote a party dictionary, in which all the whigs were repreſented as raſcals *, and the tories men of honor and honeſty; for which the TORY OECONOMISTS have ſince given him a penſion of 300 l. a year: he is a man of remarkable integrity, and roars out on all occaſions in the cauſe of

* In Johnſon's dictionary, whigiſm and atheiſm are called ſynonymous terms.

virtue;

virtue; and as example is allowed to be more uſeful than precept, as an inſtance of his honeſty, and contempt of money, he took a guinea ſubſcription for an edition of Shakeſpear, about ten years ago: the book has not appeared as yet, but as the PENSIONER always expreſſes a great regard for poor authors, and as his pocketing the money, without giving the book, may diſcourage ſubſcriptions, it is thought he will publiſh Shakeſpear the beginning of the next CENTURY. This grand maſs of virtue, gentility, impartiality, complacency, ſelf-diffidence, modeſty, ſociability, eaſe and elegance, who ſees ſo remarkably, and ſo juſtly applauds all mens talents but his OWN, in the addreſs he wrote for the artiſts, had this remarkable CONUNDRUM, "that though "we were ingaged in the moſt bloody "war England ever ſaw, yet we were in "profound peace.". To follow this great writer's example, and grace the Contraſt with a conundrum, I will aſſert, that in the preſent PROFOUND PEACE, we

are

are in a TERRIBLE STATE OF WARFARE.

The expreſſing a diſlike to bad men, and wicked meaſures, is not only the birth-right of an Engliſhman, but is aſſumed by the negro ſlaves; the only difference is, the freeman expoſtulates with his ſuperiors, tells them of his injuries, and aſks for redreſs; the ſlave never complains, but waits an opportunity to be amply revenged, and is never ſatisfied till he has deſtroyed his tyrant taſk-maſter. The dictator, and his tory tools, have been ſo daring as to expreſs their diſapprobation of this divine attribute of liberty; and the inculcating implicit faith in their meaſures, has been the darling ſubject of the Auditor, Briton, Plain Dealer, and other mercenaries: but theſe revived tory-doctrines are too late; the unplaced and unpenſioned will exclaim; and though money has been given by the œconomiſt, with the utmoſt profuſion, yet ſome remain virtuous; nor will the treaſury purchaſe every opponent; the

ſenſe

ſenſe of the better ſort of people is known by their writings; the ſenſe of common people, by the gallows made to hang the court-biſhop, by the broken head of the Welch turn-coat patriot; and by the dictator being perpetually burnt in effigy. Theſe are ſome of the glorious effects of the Scotch miniſtry's virtuous deeds, and of their excellent peace; theſe the preſages to confuſion, that is juſtly dreaded by all his majeſty's faithful ſubjects.

Theſe are not the only unfortunate circumſtances that mark theſe diſmal times. We ſee the political barometer, the public funds, daily falling, and in the Scot's profound peace, at a much lower price than at the beginning of an Engliſh war. This characterizes not only the diffidence of the Engliſh, but the utter contempt of all foreigners, of the preſent Scotch hodge-podge, commonly called the Engliſh miniſtry. We ſee in the Scot's profound peace, the French augmenting their navy, with a greater zeal

and

and diſpatch than during the war. We ſee an Indian war in America unavoidable: our public papers inform us of commotions in Ireland, which are juſtly to be dreaded: and all theſe dreadful conſequences proceed from the Scotch aſſuming the reins of government, in a free country, and engroſſing all the places of profit to themſelves. Though all the nation are juſtly incenſed at their conduct, yet they perſiſt in ruling. How long the Lord will afflict the Engliſh nation with this plague of locuſts, I cannot determine; but as they, like other vermin, only ſtay till they have devoured every thing in the country, the moſt miſerable ſtate of this once happy nation prognoſticates their ſpeedy flight, and that they will ſoon find, that although they have obtained, by every wicked art, a nominal peace, in order to maintain themſelves in excluſive power, yet to their ſorrow they will find, that "THERE "IS NO PEACE TO THE WICKED."

B. X. P.

No. 11. Wedneſday, Sept. 7, 1763.

——can turn and turn, and yet go on,
And turn again.———

SHAKESPEAR.

Tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis—

AS the author of the CONTAST has ſeldom or never obſerved any good effects to proceed from political writers entering into debates in juſtification of their own works, he, from the firſt, reſolved to be exceedingly careful to aſcertain the truth of what he ſubmitted to the impartial and diſcerning public, and then to leave them to determine the merits between him and his adverſaries, without wantonly interfering on every trifling occaſion.

Notwithſtanding theſe are the CONTRAST's general principles, yet where he thinks neceſſary to be more explicit, for the better ſatisfaction of his readers, he ſhall always look on himſelf in duty bound ſo to be; and when any of his papers,

pers, on important ſubjects, are anſwered by people of the leaſt pretenſions to underſtanding or ability, he will either ſupport his doctrines, or confeſs his errors. He therefore intends to-day to ſupport his opinion of thoſe tame, compliant, ſtate-tools, the diſſenters, in anſwer to the conſiderations of one Mr. X. on the CONTRAST, No. VII.

The firſt obſervation of Mr. X's is a full confeſſion of what is aſſerted. The CONTRAST ſays, "that the diſſenters, in "the reign of Charles the firſt, availed "themſelves of the confuſion of the "times; and, by every wicked method "that could be purſued, entirely ſub-"verted the conſtitution in church and "ſtate." Mr. X. owns, that the Engliſh preſbyterians, "and all the Scots, aimed "at the eſtabliſhment of preſbytery; be-"ing as firmly perſuaded of the divine "right of their model of church govern-"ment, as the members of the church of "England could be of theirs." As to the merits of the two religions, I ſhall not

not debate that point with Mr. X; but I have ſo good an opinion of all truly religious people, that I am certain they ſuppoſe their own to be the beſt. The private opinion of a few has nothing to do with the ſtate; and therefore the preſbyterians, who, contrary to law, endeavoured to ſubvert the church, were a much traitors to their country, as thoſe who made a mock court of juſtice to perpetrate the horrid murder of their king. If we were to allow this argument, I fear it would go too far, for it would be a juſtification of James the ſecond, in all his tyrannical and unconſtitutional proceedings in favor of popery, for which he was dethroned; becauſe he "was as "firmly perſuaded of the divine right of "his model of church government," as the preſbyterians ever could be of theirs. The panegyric on the preſent diſſenters, with which he concludes this paragraph, I fear is not true, but I ſincerely wiſh that one aſſertion may be found ſo, which is, that "the fatal miſtakes of former

"times

" times has been the means of teaching " them better notions, more wiſdom and " moderation."

In the next paragraph he ſays, that the CONTRAST " has baſely confounded the " diſſenters in general with a wretched ſet " of enthuſiaſts and republicans." To which I anſwer, that it is not fact; for Mr. X. has confounded the real patriots of the eſtabliſhed religion with the diſſenting faction. I believe it is univerſally allowed, that the firſt legal oppoſition to the wicked miniſtry, and oppreſſive meaſures of Charles the firſt, was highly commendable. No Engliſhman can read of his infringement of the privileges of parliament, and freedom of their debates, but with the utmoſt horror; nor of the ſhip money, without deteſtation; nor of his infamous favourite that found protection, and at laſt occaſioned the poor king's ruin, without contempt of him as a man, or compaſſion for his little diſcernment, in preferring a falſe courtier to the honeſt affections of his faithful ſub-

jects. It was by an oppoſition to theſe meaſures, ſo repugnant to our birthright and charter of liberties, that the immortal Hampden, and many other worthy patriots, endeared themſelves to every free-born Engliſhman: but it is well known, that theſe worthies never deſigned war, and that all the bloody civil conteſt was owing to the diſſenters, who availed themſelves of the confuſion of the times, and by every wicked art pulled down high church tyranny to eſtabliſh a preſbyterian tyranny, ten times more deſtructive than the former. As to their diſapproving of the murder of the truly pious king, I will refer to the warrant for his execution, and you will ſee, that they were all diſſenters who ſigned the traiterous order. Mr. X. has not entered into particulars ſufficient for our finding out who were thoſe worthy diſſenters who beheld the tragedy with ſuch horror, and ſo ardently deſired to prevent it. I ſhould be glad to know whether that worthy diſſenter, Mr. Oliver Cromwell, was one of the preſbyterian

ſaints

ſaints that looked on with ſuch horror at his own inhumanity? No: Mr. X's aſſertions are contrary to known facts, and none but ſuch a blind zealot in the diſſenting cauſe could have aſſerted ſuch groſs falſities; he muſt know, that the arch-traitor, Cromwell, was the idol of thoſe diſſenting cut-throats; that he was always repreſented as a ſtandard of piety, and that the diſſenters at this day adore Cromwell, and applaud his wicked acts.

As to the CONTRAST's omitting the reign of Charles the ſecond, it was, becauſe the diſſenters conduct, during that time, does not appear quite ſo clear as for him to determine on their merit or demerit. There were in this reign more plots, either real or pretended, than in almoſt all the other reigns put together. The court accuſed the diſſenters and catholics of being the authors of the major part of them; with what juſtice I cannot determine.

What he allows of their conduct, in the reign of the pope's agent, James the ſe-

cond, is quite as much as the CONTRAST could wiſh, to ſupport his aſſertions of their baſe, traiterous, and mercenary conduct. He allows, " that the univerſal " toleration was a maſk, under which " James intended to introduce popery. " That a few of the diſſenters were taken " in the ſnare." This is very true, they were, and ever have been taken in lucrative ſnares: bait your trap with a good place or penſion, and they are unfortunately taken in the ſnare, whether the trap-baiter is a whig, a tory, a tyrannical contemptible Scot, a papiſt, an atheiſt, or a Mahometan. Then the farther to illuſtrate the diſſenters zeal for their country, he tells you, that " of thoſe who " were put into offices of truſt by the " diſpenſing power, the moſt conſiderable " choſe to qualify according to law, rather " than countenance ſuch an illegal and " unconſtitutional ſtretch of the prero- " gative." This ſentence is a greater reflection on the diſſenters, than any contained in the contraſt. It firſt ſhows

them

them to be the moſt abandoned traitors to their country, to accept of places under a diſpenſing power, which was not only inconſiſtent with the law, but a ſtretch of prerogative that entirely ſubverted our happy conſtitution. Their qualifying according to the law, ſhows that they had as little regard for God as their country; and that both were ſacrificed to the thirſt of power and profit. It is a fundamental principle with the diſſenters, not to receive the ſacrament, as a qualification for office. It is this that Mr. X. ſays, "has excluded "them from the ſervice of their country;" and yet in that reign, their conſciences were ſo eaſy and compliable, that they qualified according to law. To ſum up their virtues according to this account, it ſtands thus: they held it offenſive to the Supreme Being, to receive the ſacrament for a place; ſo they are excluded by the teſt. By the diſpenſing power their conſciences are eaſed, ſo they come into office: but then the good creatures find out, that this is "countenancing an illegal and

" unconſtitutional ſtretch of the prero-
" gative." What do theſe pious ſouls do then? Do they reſign? No. They can't qualify, becauſe that is contrary to their tenets, and an offence to God! Yes; but theſe ſanctified patriots have ſo great a regard for the conſtitution, that they diſregard the laws of God, and qualify: and then, to conclude, after all this complacency, king James ſays, " he can't gain
" them." A moſt wonderful conſiſtent account! But here I muſt play the commentator; for king James could not ſay, " he could not gain them," becauſe he had them; but he ſaid, " he could not
" keep them."

As to his other obſervations and animadverſions, they are in general too trifling to require an anſwer, and therefore I ſhall paſs over them in ſilence. Yet I cannot conclude without remarking, that Mr. X. has not ſaid one word in juſtification of the paultry actions of the preſent diſſenting junto, who, with ſuch unjuſtifiable zeal, joined the contemptible tory

Scot,

Scot, whoſe principles and actions were diametrically oppoſite to what they pretend are theirs; who were purchaſed to ſneak to court with an addreſs on an inadequate, temporary peace: and who have ſold all their old friends and whig connections for two thouſand pounds; but I hope the happy period is now near at hand, when theſe temporizing diſſenters muſt "turn again," and that our beſt of ſovereigns will ſoon have a good and able miniſtry, and that he will be as happy in his people as they are in him; which cannot fail of being the caſe, when the dictator and his myrmidons are retired, and Engliſhmen, of tried integrity and abilities, put in their room; which is the ardent prayer of the whole nation, except the hungry Scotch, and ſome deſperate Engliſh, whoſe poverty makes them always ſubſervient tools to the moſt abandoned miniſters.

B. X. P.

No. 12. Wedneſday, Sept. 14, 1763.

Omnium ſocietatum nulla eſt gravior, nulla carior, quam ea quæ cum republica eſt unicuique noſtrum :—Sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa eſt : pro qua quis bonus dubitet mortem oppetere, ſi ei ſit profuturus?

CIC.

IN the ſecond number of the Contraſt I conſidered the nature of the Scotch union, and ſhewed that it ought never to be underſtood that theſe kingdoms were compleatly united, ſo long as the Scotch retain their own laws, religion, and cuſtoms; moſt of which are ſo very inconſiſtent with ours, that the veſting power in this free country, in the hands of a tyrant Scot, muſt always be a moſt alarming circumſtance, and never can fail to incenſe the whole Engliſh nation. I intend in this day's paper to purſue the ſubject, and conſider national prejudices in a more general light.

It cannot be doubted but it was neceſſary for the benefit of mankind, to divide the

the government of the world into parts; and it is ſelf-evident, that the only method of keeping them ſeparate, was implanting in them an attachment for their own nation, and a deteſtation for others. From whence it appears, that national prejudices and attachments are, by the interpoſition of Divine Providence, interwoven in the conſtitution of the univerſe. This doctrine is ſupported by holy writ; for you will find that moſt of the laws of the Jews were deſigned to keep them a ſeparate nation, by preventing their union with all others. The different languages allotted to every kingdom has no other uſe than to keep them from blending together, and does it more effectually than any barrier. The laws and cuſtoms of all nations, and of all ages, are calculated for the end of ſeparation. Every ſtate gives the greateſt rewards to warriors, that is, to thoſe who have done the greateſt miſchief to other countries; committed many thouſand GLORIOUS MURDERS; burnt, without relenting, the habitations

bitations of all the poor, innocent ſubjects; deſtroyed their ſuſtenance; and dragged thoſe that fell into their hands, in chains, to add to the horrors of a triumph. The firſt legal principle in every kingdom is, to be true and faithful to the ſtate; and it is the cuſtom of every country to bind their ſubjects to a faithful allegiance, by the moſt ſolemn oaths. The higheſt crime in every country, is ſerving the national enemies; and even in England, whoſe laws are certainly the moſt merciful, Dr. Henſey was condemned to the death of a traitor, for correſponding with the French, during the late war; though all he informed them might have been found in the Court Regiſter, or the public news-papers; and for this crime, apparently ſo trifling, he was, with univerſal approbation, condemned to a ſeverer puniſhment than if he had murdered his parents and all his kindred. So that the grand doctrine of nations is truly mercenary, it is to ſerve themſelves even at the utter deſtruction of their neighbours.

Theſe

Theſe principles, I believe, will be found conſiſtent with all governments; and theſe principles will be found ſo riveted in the minds of all mankind, that they are apparently inſtinct, and are never to be eradicated.

Now I ſhall apply theſe general ideas to the Engliſh and Scotch. All the world knows, that between theſe two nations, from the earlieſt accounts, there was the greateſt antipathy, and moſt implacable hatred. The wars that this kingdom has been engaged in with the Scots, exceed thoſe of every other nation in the whole world put together: the Scotch were always in ſtrict alliance with France, and France has always been the natural enemy of England. This was the ſituation of affairs, till the formal, puſillanimous, pacific Scot, James the firſt, aſcended the Engliſh throne; and then thoſe mercenary Scots, who formerly came into England in the character of warriors for the ſake of plunder, thought it more for their private advantage, to attend this caſuiſtical

monarch

monarch in the character of friends; under which maſk, the innumerable train of beggars and banditti have had it in their power to do more real injury to this kingdom, than ten times their force could have accompliſhed in the more noble profeſſion of arms.

The preſent Scotch ſcribblers having been ſo regardleſs of hiſtorical facts as to aſſert, in anſwer to my paper, No. II. that the crowns of the two kingdoms were united by James the firſt: I appeal to every hiſtory of England and Scotland, and you will find that they remained, in every reſpect, as eſſentially ſeparate, as England and Hanover are at this day, or as England and Holland were in the reign of king William the third: there is no more pretence to ſay the crowns, or kingdoms, were united by the ſame perſon being king of each, than there is to ſay, that the archbiſhopric of Canterbury and the chancellorſhip were united, by the ſame perſon, in former times, enjoying both offices, for they always acted as ſeparately,

as if different perſons: and ſo every kingly act in each kingdom, till the real union, in the reign of queen Anne, was as abſolutely independent of each other, as if king James the firſt of England and king James the ſixth of Scotland had been two men. It was ſo far from being underſtood by the Scotch, that the kingdoms were united at that time, that when it was propoſed, many years before it took place, the great Scotch lawyer, Sir John Neſbitt, of Dirleton, the then lord advocate, and a privy counſellor, gave it as his opinion, that the propoſing of it was high treaſon, becauſe it was a ſubverſion of the parliament; any alteration in which was, by the Scotch law, high treaſon; and on this Sir John founded his opinion; and it had ſuch an effect on the great people of Scotland, that it retarded the ſcheme for many years: and it is well known, that it was at laſt obtained by bribing a few of the ruling Scots; and ſo far from its being the voice of the people, they were extremely averſe to it, and treated the promoters

moters of it as traitors to their country. The little regard theſe new united Scots had for their fellow ſubjects, by act of parliament, was inſtanced by their being in leſs than ten years in open arms in favour of a popiſh pretender of the houſe of Stuart, and doing every thing in their power to ſubvert the happy conſtitution of England, both in church and ſtate. Their farther zeal in the ſame wicked cauſe, was ſhown by the alacrity with which they followed his ſtandard in forty-five; and no man, who is converſant with the Highland troops in the government's ſervice, but believes them at this inſtant, as zealous as ever in the old cauſe; and whatever pretenſions to merit they may have by ſerving in the Engliſh armies, they have equal demerit by as many, or perhaps more, being in the ſervice of our enemies the FRENCH, and our no friends the DUTCH.

Whoever will read the debates on the union, will find, that it was not ſuppoſed, that as long as they retained their own laws,

laws, religion, &c. ſo different to ours, that they could be really united; but the act, as it ſtands at preſent, was looked on as introductory to a complete union: and had it not been for the impolitic ambition of the Scotch, to rule the poor Engliſh with a rod of iron; to extend the EXCISE; to cram an inadequate peace down their throats, when the Engliſh declared for war; to commit their members and other ſubjects, on the moſt trifling ſuſpicions, and treat them with greater ſeverity for a CONSTRUCTED BREACH OF THE PEACE, than had been cuſtomary for the more merciful Engliſh to treat thoſe Scotch rebels, whoſe zeal for popery, tyranny, and the Stuarts, have brought them to the GALLOWS; had it not been for theſe, the union was daily becoming more real; the Scotch had more than their ſhare of profitable employs, either in proportion to their numbers or abilities, without the leaſt murmuring. But as the Scotch ſcheme is apparently to graſp the whole power of Great Britain, it is natural

tural for the Engliſh to expreſs their diſ-approbation; which I may venture to ſay has been done with the greateſt decency, in compariſon to what might have been expected, when their injuries and inſults are conſidered; or in compariſon to what the Scotch would themſelves have done, ſuppoſing a contemptible, upſtart, ignorant, inſolent, tyrannical Engliſhman, had been ſent to Edinburgh, veſted with the dictatorſhip, turning out all the honeſt patriots, in order to provide for a train of ſubſervient beggars, who followed power, and ſollicited office, on the moſt profligate terms; had ſuch a wretch ventured himſelf in the kingdom of Scotland, he would have been PORTEOUSED * within four and twenty hours.

From

* Captain Porteous commanding at an execution at Edinburgh, was attacked by the mob, and laid under a neceſſity of defending the priſoners; by which means ſome of the rioters were killed. For this he was tried, and condemned; but being reprieved, as it appeared he only did his duty; the Scotch mob took him out of gaol the evening the reprieve

From what I have ſubmitted, I believe it is apparent, that national prejudices are not to be eradicated by act of parliament; and the Scotch have no other foundation to ſuppoſe themſelves the ſame people with the Engliſh, but by the ſtrict letter of the law. Whether they are pleaſed to allow theſe prejudices to be virtues or vices, is of little conſequence, becauſe they have them to a greater degree than any other ſet of people in the univerſe. The only method the Scotch dictator could have purſued to have kept his inordinate power, was to have diveſted himſelf of his national attachments, and permitted the Engliſh to have had ſome ſhare in the government. But ſo far from that, he not only excluded them from all lucrative employs, but on all occaſions treated them with contempt; and ſo far

reprieve arrived, ſhut the city gates, made a ſolemn proceſſion, and publicly executed him, of their own authority, in the high ſtreet of Edinburgh: and for this groſs rebellious inſult on government no one perſon ſuffered any puniſhment.

from conſulting them on affairs of importance to their own country, that he gave himſelf up to the ſole direction of three inſolent Scots, whoſe fortune and abilities were equally contemptible; two of whom had even left their own country by compulſion, one for what I ſhall leave unnamed, and the other for his bad verſes; all equal temporizers, ſycophants, and ſlaves to power, whoſe hearts and hands were equally ready to join in the deſtruction of a whole people, when it apparently benefited themſelves.

I as heartily wiſh the preſent feuds to ceaſe, as any man in the three kingdoms; but as they never can, till ſome of the proud Scots are retired, I would adviſe them to ſhow their boaſted zeal for this country, by pulling off their BREECHES, and once more trotting about their bleak, deſart Highlands, where they may regale themſelves with oats, unabuſed and unenvied by the Engliſh, and amuſe themſelves with ſinging ſweet Fingal, and playing Agis, king of Sparta, without any man

man in his ſenſes intruding on their performances.

B. X. P.

No. 13. Wedneſday, Sept. 21, 1763.

I think our country ſinks beneath the yoke.
It weeps, it bleeds, and each new day a gaſh
Is added to her wounds. ———— ——

MACBETH, Act IV. Scene 4.

WHoever has attended to human nature with any degree of accuracy, will have found that the moſt abandoned are the greateſt pretenders to virtue; that the greateſt poltroons and cowards never fail to talk of their heroic deeds; that a Scotch doctor, whoſe phyſical rudiments were obtained by beating in the mortar, and who compleated his ſtudies by an extenſive practice on board a coaſting veſſel, as a ſurgeon, ſhakes his empty head at a truly learned graduate from Oxford or Cambridge, and pities his not having had a proper education: even

poor Hogarth prates whole nights and days in praiſe of his hiſtorical paintings, though his Sigiſmund, and Paul before Felix, are both in being; and the Scotch dictator's penſioner, the Dictionary-maker, ſhakes his pompous mane, and roars of his independence, his candor, and integrity, but not one word of his Shakeſpear. The reaſon why men are always boaſting of qualities they are void of, proceeds from a conſciouſneſs of their own deficiency, or at leaſt, from a ſuſpicion that no body has a proper eſtimation of their imaginary qualities; ſo that it is their ſole labour to eſtabliſh them by their own declamation. On theſe principles, and the general knowledge of the falſeneſs of the Scotch, I, from the firſt, had the ſame contemptible ideas of the Scotch miniſtry, that are now confirmed by fatal experience. It may be remembered, by the few who attended to their panegyrics on themſelves, that they undertook to obtain a general coalition of parties, to conduct the ſtate with

with the utmoſt frugality and œconomy, to promote none but people of virtue and abilities; and alas! ſuch were there ignorance, inſolence, and arrogance, that they undertook to make a good, ſafe, and ADEQUATE peace: how theſe wonderful undertakings have been executed, I will take the liberty to ſubmit.

What was called by the Scotch miniſtry a coalition of parties, was the moſt ridiculous and abſurd of all human undertakings. It is well known, and I believe univerſally allowed, that the whigs, even before the revolution, were the more numerous body, and that ſince the acceſſion of the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, they have been ten to one, in compariſon with the tories; that of late the tories thought themſelves ſo inconſiderable, that the rational part of them had endeavoured to lay aſide the prejudicial diſtinction, and become partyleſs. Tho' this was the caſe with the generality of the tories, yet there remained ſome half-witted bigots, who, thinking oppoſition

meritorious, whether founded on good or bad principles, were ſtill zealous in oppoſing they know not what. Their folly occaſioned their zeal, and their zeal excluded them from buſineſs, ſo that it became difficult to determine, whether the tory remnant excelled in folly or ignorance. The method the WONDROUS-WISE SCOT took to make an EXTINCTION OF PARTY, was by turning out the moſt experienced, ſucceſsful, and unexceptionable whig miniſtry that this kingdom was ever bleſſed with, whoſe conduct had made them darlings of the whole nation, and filling their places with theſe poor wretches, who underſtood no buſineſs but that of a toaſt-maſter, nor any laws but that of the chaſe. This was the preposterous method that was taken for the extinction of party, and what made it ſtill more ridiculous, was, that party had almoſt extinguiſhed itſelf, and whig and tory was ſcarcely ever heard of. It ſucceeded juſt as every rational man expected; the COCOA-TREE were the only people

ple that were pleaſed; and the whole nation beſides incenſed to the greateſt degree, to ſee their intereſt, their money, and their liberty, thus ſported with by the Scotch dictator and his tools. Thus their methods of extinction of parties ſet the whole nation in a ferment, and made all the independent Engliſh join with heart and voice in oppoſition to the tory miniſtry; and has entailed infamy and contempt on the very name of TORY, as long as the word remains in our language.

Their pretenſions to frugality and œconomy were an affront to the underſtanding of all mankind, and an attempt to deceive, of that groſs and ſcandalous nature, that it was beneath the low chicanery of a MOUNTEBANK, much more a prime miniſter. The only inſtance of œconomy, was a reformation in the kitchen; however neceſſary it might have been if properly conducted, yet it was carried to that degree of meanneſs, as rendered it truly contemptible,

and reduced the kitchen of the firſt prince in Europe, to a degree of inferiority to many of his opulent ſubjects. What marks the falſeneſs of their pretenſions to conduct the national affairs with any degree of frugality, was, that before the poor ſcullions had well got out of the kitchen, whereby the public was to ſave one hundred pounds a year, the lords of the bed-chamber were moſt unneceſſarily increaſed to double the number, at the expence of twenty thouſand a year. Had the poor ſcullions been either lords or commons, I make no doubt but the kitchen had been in ſpite of œconomy, as full of ſcullions, as the drawing-room is of hungry Scots.

I now come to a very delicate point, which is to blazen the VIRTUES of thoſe that have been promoted by the virtuous, pious, ſanctified Scot; but alas! ſuch are their virtues, that I don't think it ſafe to mention them. I therefore will leave them untold in my poor humble proſe,

that

that the pleaſing taſk may be new, and untouched for ſome of the truly exalted geniuſes, the Scotch heroic poets. Let the great Home, alias Hume, produce his lyre (I hope it an't grown ruſty) and tickle us up as a pretty ditty, and ſhow that he can ſing,

"A miniſter and wits,
"As a courſer and tits."

Or if he thinks thoſe ſprightly flights ill-ſuited to this moſt noble taſk, let him growl in that ſame harſh, grumbling, coarſe, hoarſe blank verſe, by which he gained the greateſt rewards; firſt, an expulſion from his native highlands; and ſecondly, an annual penſion of ſome hundreds for his repoſo's: let him ſing another lullaby; like Agis king of Sparta, let it be graced with ſuch a dainty idea as this in Douglas.

"The torrent RUSHING o'er its pebbly banks.
"Infuſes SILENCE with a STILLY ſound."

If it is wrote directly, let it be cald the

Scotch

Scotch dictator's adminiſtration, a merry comedy. If wrote hereafter, I fear it muſt be a woeful tragedy. But pardon me, my dear eſquire, or parſon, or journeyman prime miniſter, Mr. John Home, alias Jack Hume, your curious idea of the moſt furious roaring noiſe of a torrent's being the cauſe of ſilence, had ſo muddled my imagination, that I had forgot you was to write an ode. It ſhall be entitled, The VIRTUES of the Scotch miniſtry. In imitation of a noiſe being the cauſe of ſilence, you may talk of the virtuouſneſs of being vicious; the chaſtity of adultery; the chriſtianiſm of atheiſm; and the naturalneſs of the moſt unnatural and beaſtly crimes; theſe things properly put together, which the ingenuity of the Home will undoubtedly do, will make ſuch an ode, as muſt charm the reader, as much as the ſiege of Aquileia, or Agis did, the CROWDED audiences. As it will doubtleſs be as good as the immortal Cibber's odes, or even the riſing Pindar, the ſpirited William Whitehead, Eſq;

Eſq; ſo it will of courſe entitle the author to the laureatſhip the next vacancy: then, ye gods, how we ſhall ſing! but where are the inſtruments? where the compoſer that can do juſtice to Home's poetry? the violin nor kettle-drum has no ſilent ſounds; nor can Stanley, Smith, or Arne, compoſe a ſtilly noiſe. Nor even the Scotch chamber-compoſer, Mr. Thing-a-me, (for nobody ever heard of his name) can hum-ſtrum to ſuch poetry: even the Æolian harp, which is played on by the boiſterous winds, who are nearly connected with the ruſhing torrents, can't command a ſilent ſtilly ſound. I am thy friend, good preſbyterian parſon, in a bag and ſword; I will therefore adviſe you well: write as none can READ, and have it ſet to ſuch STILLY SOUNDS that none can HEAR, and then, and not till then, you may paſs for an excellent poet.

As chriſtianity teaches meekneſs, ſo I am certain of forgiveneſs from the editor of Bolingbroke's PIOUS poſthumous works,

works, or elſe I ſhould have thought it neceſſary to have aſked the great Mallock's pardon, for giving an office to Home, which he may ſo reaſonably expect. But as good works carry their own reward, I don't doubt but the author of Elvira, who ſacrificed at the ſhrine of Bute in a dedication, as remarkable for Engliſh and elegance, as for rigid truth, and for the juſt panegyric in the play on the glorious, Scotch, ſix months peace, has been rewarded, not according to his works, for that would have been with a cord, but with a PENSION. I therefore hope he'll excuſe my promoting the Home, to the reverſion of the laureatſhip.

As I have left the virtues of the Scotch miniſtry to be ſung, inſtead of attempting to relate them myſelf, I have nothing left but to conſider the good, ſafe, and adequate peace; for which I muſt beg my reader's patience till ſome other time, as the paper of to-day has already exceeded my common bounds.

B. X. P.

No. 14. Wedneſday, Sept. 28, 1763.

———Quis talia fando
Myrmidonum, Dolopumve, aut duri miles, Ulyſſi
Temperet a lacrymis! VIRG.

To the PUBLIC.

THE new-papers having omitted the following valuable articles of intelligence, the author of the Contraſt takes the liberty of preſenting them to his brother politicians; they may be depended upon as much as many news-paper ſtories, he having collected them at great pains and expence; and has the honour to be his readers moſt obedient ſervant, B. X. P.

The WONDERFUL INTELLIGENCER.

Wedneſday, September 28, 1763.

Paris, September 20.

OUR works of PEACE are carried on with the greateſt diligence, in particular we have finiſhed and put into com-

com-

commiſſion twenty-four ſhips of the line, and have fifty more on the ſtocks; they are deſtined to keep the ocean pacific.

Berlin, Sept. 11. Our ſovereign, who is a REAL admirer of the preſent Engliſh-Scotch miniſtry, intends to compliment their SAFE and ADEQUATE PEACE, by raiſing an army of 300,000 men:—*theſe, we ſuppoſe, muſt be deſigned for peace officers.*

Hague, Sept. 22. A conſultation of civilians was lately held; the point to be determined was, "What was the beſt "method to keep peace with the Eng-"liſh," when the whole body were of opinion, that the moſt effectual way was, to cut their throats. In conſequence of which we ſhall join in the CUT-THROAT COMPACT, vulgarly called the FAMILY COMPACT.

Bruſſels, Sept. 19. Letters from Paris ſay, that the grand monarch, with his uſual politeneſs, has promiſed not to invade England till all the country addreſſes, of London manufacture, on the adequate

adequate glorious peace, are publiſhed in the Gazette.

LONDON.

The rejoicings on the happy coalition of parties, by adding ſo many illuſtrious and TRIED patriots to the preſent popular miniſtry, was, and ſtill is, inexpreſſible: the huzzas, like that great poet Home's TORRENT, had a very ſtilly ſound, and their ſhouts, on hearing that Mr. Pitt had been ſo "mercenary as to "refuſe a place of great profit, infuſed "ſilence" through the whole city; the Royal Exchange rung to that degree, that you might have heard a mouſe ſtir. All true Engliſh wept, *with exceſs of joy doubtleſs.*

Many of the preſent ſtop-gaps having never been heard of before, we hear that a deſcription of their perſons, lives, characters, and behaviour, is in the preſs, and will ſpeedily be publiſhed. *If it gives rational reaſons for their promotions, it will be an ingenious book.*

We

We hear that the heralds work double tides in making grandfathers, and other anceſtors, for ſome of the new miniſtry.

The inſurance on the preſent miniſtry round the year, which was done at 99 l. 19 s. 11 d. three farthings per cent. is now refuſed at that price, the inſurers looking on it as flinging a farthing away.

Count Bruhl, the unpopular miniſter of Saxony, having heard how much the Auditor and Briton contributed to the preſent popularity of the once odious Scot, has ſent for them to write him into vogue.

It is ſaid that Mr. Stevens, and the other worthies who attended a noble lord on ſeveral public occaſions laſt year, are engaged to attend the above count at his public entry into Dreſden.

A ne exeat regnum has been iſſued to prevent Mr. Stevens's departure, as a certain great man han't quite done with him.

The report that has for ſome days prevailed, of the grand penſioner, the tory

Dictionary-

Dictionary-maker, and author of the intended edition of Shakeſpear, having had his wig combed, and face waſhed, is, we can aſſure the public, quite groundleſs, no ſuch thing having happened for ſome years paſt.

The other report, that this gentleman had turned WHIG, is equally falſe, and proceeded from the following accident; a devil, i. e. a printer's boy, having called on the penſioner, and found him in his WIG, the wrong ſide outwards, which is the penſioner's delicate method of making a night-cap, the boy inadvertently reported, "that he had turned his "wig," without farther explanation; ſo that it was generally underſtood he had changed his principles; but we, from good authority, can aſſert, that this worthy gentleman ſtill deteſts the whigs as much as when he made that rational and uſeful obſervation, that "whigiſm and "atheiſm were ſynonymous terms." Leſt ſome of our readers, who are not very learned, ſhould be at a loſs to ſee the ſi-

militude between whigs and atheiſts, we will explain it by a more familiar inſtance; they are as like to each other, as a moſt enormous pair of jack-boots are to a tanzy-pudding; or as the penſioner's day-wig night-cap, is to a firſt rate man of war under ſail.

We hear that the dictator ſits to Mr. Reynolds for his picture: this is a true inſtance of condeſcenſion and regard to the Engliſh, to let ſo poor a painter do his SENSIBLE FACE, while the great Ramſey, the king's painter, lives, who is allowed to be as ſuperior to Reynolds in the art, as a ſparrow is in bulk to an oſtrich.

The above is an emblematical picture, and is deſigned to be hung up in the king's kitchen, in memory of the reformation in the ſcullery. The dictator ſtands erect, with one foot on the neck of Britannia, and the other on a ſtarved turnſpit, repreſenting the glorious abolition of the old Engliſh, hoggiſh cuſtom, of eating roaſt meat: in one hand he has a large bundle of addreſſes on the peace,

and

and an iron rammer, with which he is a-going to cram them down Britannia's throat; in the other hand he has a cat-o'-nine-tails, with which he flogs poor Britannia: on one of the tails is wrote "the CYDER ACT," on the others, "the "excise extended, commitment of MEM-"BERS, Scotch preferments, œconomy, "peace, the last loan, &c. &c." on one side is an old lion, fainting under a load of highlanders; on the other side, a number of people-writing, and wrote over the door, "the address-making office in here;" on the back of the picture are several emblematical figures, representing the blessings of peace: among others, the Indians scalping the English; public credit on crutches, and a Scotchman tripping up his heels; excisemen breaking into private houses; mobs so incensed as to commit the greatest outrages; patience and decency in fits, &c. &c. in the distance is an unfinished sketch, there is wrote over it "the CONCLUSION," what it means we cannot say, but it has a good

deal of the appearance of Tower-hill, when the rebel Scots were beheaded: in one part of the picture is the unicorn fat and ſleek, loaded with money, and kicking down and prancing over the Engliſh by hundreds: in the clouds are the guardian angels of England and Ireland, loaded with axes and halters. The picture, inſtead of being ornamented with books or trophies, the emblems of literature and arms, is decorated with cloſe-ſtools, haggies, oatmeal, brimſtone, and bag-pipes.

Yeſterday arrived in town from France, Sir M'Intoſh Kenmure, Bart. of the kingdom of Scotland; he is an officer of great experience, having been in both the Scotch rebellions, and at other times, in the ſervice of France, ſo that he may be juſtly eſteemed a valuable addition to our army. He directly waited on the dictator, was moſt graciouſly received, and had the honour to kiſs his rump. He is remarkably attached to the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover.

From

From the above gentleman we hear, that though Mr. Wilkes was ſo paultry, that he would not go out with captain Forbes to be murdered; yet things are ſo well contrived, that he will be taken care of ſtill.

Saturday laſt being the birth-day of that valiant and experienced officer, capt. maſter Tommy Elliot, who entered into the ninth year of his age, the officers of the corps were invited to play at marbles with his honour; and all the common men had a paper of ſugar-plumbs.

We hear that maſter Jockey Elliot, capt. Tommy's youngeſt brother, will be called to the bar next term, and in Eaſter term will be called within the bar. The early days that theſe pretty babes enter life, is a real inſtance of true Scotch zeal for our country!

A certain great Scot, who declared he hoped it would be put on his monument, when dead, that he was the maker of the PEACE, has now ſo great a ſhare of modeſty, that he won't ſuffer, if he can help

it, this glorious work to be mentioned while he LIVES.

'Tis ſaid, that an act will be paſſed to make it felony without benefit of clergy, to write or ſpeak againſt the Scotch miniſtry.

We hear that a tool has brought an action againſt the author of a political paper, for aſſerting that he was worth 20,000 l. 'Tis to be hoped that this public-ſpirited method will put a ſtop to ſuch wicked malevolent reports, as nothing can be ſo injurious to any man, as to be ſuppoſed worth 20,000 l.

COUNTRY NEWS.

Edinburgh, Aug. 28. As ſoon as the expreſs arrived with the account that the valiant capt. Forbes had aſſaſſinated col. Wilkes, the great event was made known by the firing off the caſtle guns, the bells rung, and the evening concluded with illuminations, bonfires, and other demonſtrations of joy.

On

On this happy occaſion, the Provoſt gave a grand entertaiment, when the following loyal toaſts were drank:

Earl Bute.

The patriotic, capt. Forbes.

The diſſenting intereſt, and a repeal of the Teſt.

Succeſs to the North Britiſh intereſt.

The king.

George Greenville, of the Inner Temple, Eſq; and the able Sir Francis.

Extenſion of exciſe.

Confuſion to Mr. Pitt, lord Temple, duke of Newcaſtle, and lord chief Pratt, &c. &c.

We hear from Glaſgow, that the like rejoicings were made there, and that they will preſent capt. Forbes with the freedom of that city, in a moſt elegant, carved, and gilt cloſe-ſtool.

To the PRINTER.

SIR,

I HAS called on the Contraſter, and the North Britonner, and the Monitorer, and they never has been anſwering

me. All the world muſt now allow I have beat them, becauſe I write ſuch moſt better a ſort of kind of a language, that they would anſwer me if they could, ſo I am certainly unanſwerable, and ſo no body won't read their nonſenſe no more. The Contraſterrers lie about lord Bute, and Dr. Chandler is a ſtory, I know, it is all every bit falſe. I don't know lord Bute by FACE, nor the doctor, ſo I know nothing about this lye, only that it is an arrant falſeity.

I am your conſtant correſpondent,

G. T.

P. S. I can be very witty, as you ſhall ſee. X. O. P. aſks, if the Scotch has not the ITCH? I anſwer, the Engliſh has the POX. I think I have them. I am your beſter writer you have: I am none ſo worſerrer.

Yours, G. T.

No.

No. 15. Wedneſday, Oct. 5, 1763.

IT is with the greateſt concern that the author of the Contraſt finds himſelf engaged in a kind of religious controverſy with the diſſenters: as it has already gone too far, he intends this paper as a concluſion to the debate; and promiſes, that if the remaining three and twenty letters ſhould join Mr. X. they ſhall never extort another anſwer.

The author of the Contraſt is as zealous in the cauſe of civil and religious liberty as any man on the face of the earth; and if he has in any writing whatever ſaid a ſingle word derogatory to either, it was inadvertently, and he ſhould eſteem it a favour to have it pointed out, that he might ſign his own recantation; which he would do with the greateſt alacrity.

It is a misfortune ever attendant on controverſy, that the original point in debate is ſoon dropped; ſo that in a ſmall time

time the ſquabble is about quite different affairs: to avoid which, I will look back to the paper that gave riſe to the debate, which was the Contraſt No. VII. and ſhew the occaſion of the attack on the diſſenters.

When I firſt entered the liſt of political writers, it was to ſet before the public ſuch tranſactions as I apprehended highly injurious to the liberty of the ſubject. The conſequence of ſuch an intention was, an oppoſition to the Scotch miniſtry. Could any man with the leaſt degree of integrity be a ſpectator of their wicked practices, and not exclaim? What aggravated the circumſtances was, a parade of virtue during all their wicked actions. Oeconomy was talked of; while every news-paper informed us of a penſion unneceſſarily beſtowed on ſome worthleſs tool: the peace was apparently neither ſafe nor adequate: the extenſion of the exciſe was unconſtitutional: the mode of Mr. Wilkes's commitment was tyrannical, to that degree, that every man who had

had the leaſt regard for liberty muſt be alarmed.

During all theſe unjuſtifiable proceedings, every art was made uſe of to prevent thoſe juſt clamours that they foreſaw muſt be the conſequence of ſuch practices: the public money was moſt profuſely diſtributed to thoſe venal wretches whoſe patriotiſm was to be eradicated by gold; while thoſe in office, who retained any public ſpirit, or whoſe friends were in the oppoſition, were, by the mercileſs miniſter, turned out, to the utter ruin of many families, and their places given to his tools and ſycophants.

The author of the Contraſt had ſuch an opinion of the preſent diſſenters, that he never ſuſpected their acting in conjunction with ſuch a contemptible tory miniſtry, or going hand in hand with the low diſregarded and contemned cocoa tree: he was not the leaſt ſurpriſed to find, that all arts were attempted by theſe corruptors to make them, who are a conſiderable body, join in their own deſtruction. But he de-

depended on their principles and underſtandings for ſpurning at theſe attempts to engage them in the ruin of themſelves and their country. Having conceived thus honourably of the body of diſſenters, it increaſed his indignation, when he heard that they had ſold themſelves for two thouſand pounds, and that one of the conditions of this paultry reward was, to join in applauding the Scotch peace; it was with concern he found the Scotch meaſures, ſo deſtructive to liberty, publicly approved of by ſome of the moſt conſiderable of the body; and that one of their leading men handed about a letter, which tended to procure the diſſenters, by violating our conſtitution. The author did not on ill-founded reports accuſe them with being "a venal, mercenary, time-"ſerving JUNTO, becoming the tame ſub-"miſſive tools of the adminiſtration," till they had abſolutely preſented their addreſs on the peace; and then he thought it his duty to ring the alarm, and to inform the world how they were fallen; how little they

they regarded their own profeſſion; and that they, as well as other bodies, had their prices: and ſo far from recanting what was ſaid in No. VII. that had he applied every word in the Engliſh vocabulary, that denotes infamy, venality, or mercenarineſs, to the diſſenters, on this occaſion, it would have fallen far ſhort of that contempt, that every man muſt feel in his breaſt, at ſo ſcandalous and inconſiſtent an action.

If I was to anſwer every perſon who has been ſo obliging to favour the Contraſt with abuſe, I muſt engage Mr. Say's paper for a week: as this is not my intention, I ſhall only take notice of ſome particulars. I obſerve that every advocate for the diſſenters allow the juſtneſs of the accuſation, as to ſome individuals, only complain of the unjuſtneſs of condemning the whole body for the crimes of a few. I will firſt enquire into this: it was impoſſible for the author of the Contraſt to take any other opinion of the ſentiments of the diſſenters, either in rela-

tion

tion to the adminiſtration, or the peace, than by their public actions: the diſſenting miniſters preſented their LOYAL addreſs, like other purchaſed addreſſers, many months after the peace: it is ſaid, that they never, till then, went before the LONDON CLERGY, but on the occaſion of the glorious Scotch peace, they preſſed unneceſſarily forwards. If the addreſs, like that of half a dozen aldermen clandeſtinely addreſſing for the whole city, had been obtained by the intrigues of the Scotch hireling, I ſhould have thought the diſſenters would have been the firſt to expreſs their diſapprobation of ſuch diſingenuous actions; and if they ſuffer a ſet of their people to accept of bribes, and go up with addreſſes in the name of the whole body, I think the leaſt they can do is, to excuſe thoſe who think it their actions, till they have diſavowed them. I do not know, nor believe, the diſſenters have, in any ſhape, declared their diſapprobation of thoſe actions, that the Contraſt complained of, even at this inſtant,

inſtant, nor that the public have any other reaſon to ſuppoſe they diſapprove of them, otherwiſe than that Mr. X.—R. R. a LAY NON-CON, — W. W. — C. D. — a DISSENTING MINISTER,—A. B. &c. &c. &c. and other anonymous authors, are pleaſed to declare that it is ſo. As I have been already very free with the diſſenters, I think it too late to ſtand on ceremony, and ſhall therefore freely declare my ſentiments on this head. I do firmly believe that the diſſenters, as a body, at firſt approved of this unnatural junction with the Scots, or at leaſt connived at it, which is little leſs than abſolute approbation; but when they found their actions juſtly condemned by all mankind, they then tried to fling the odium of this ſcandalous affair on two or three of their leaders, and particularly on one whom they endeavoured to make the SCAPE GOAT.

The author of the Contraſt is accuſed of having quoted a high-church paper, the Examiner: if this was abſurd in him in a debate with the diſſenters, to mention

a work

a work of the other party, I ſhould be glad to know if it is not equally ridiculous to cram down his throat for goſpel, the works of two preſbyterian teachers, Mr. Neal and Mr. Calamy: as to Mr. X's other quotation from biſhop Burnet's tittle-tattle of his own times, of James the ſecond's ſaying, "he could not gain "the diſſenters," at a time when they had accepted of offices under the DISPENSING POWER, and others were daily qualifying, it is abſurd, and ridiculous; and nothing can give the ſtory a ſanction, but proving that king James was either mad or drunk, when he ſaid it. The author's opinion of the IMMORTAL Mr. Hampden's virtue and patriotiſm, is founded on his ſteady and diſintereſted oppoſition to the tyrannical and unconſtitutional meaſures of a weak and obſtinate prince (though I believe a good man) who having imbibed ſuch high ideas of prerogative as are inconſiſtent with the liberty of the Engliſh, and who, to the deſtruction of himſelf and his ſubjects,

was

was attached to a moſt infamous and tyrannical miniſtry, made good men of all denominations join in oppoſing his unconſtitutional meaſures: it is a moſt cruel method of blaſting a man's reputation, in pretending to determine what he would have done, had he lived; and therefore, if ten Clarendons had aſſerted that Hampden would have laid aſide his virtue, and have turned the moſt abandoned of fanatic villains, the author of the Contraſt would diſregard it.

I think I may venture to aſſert, that mankind in general are too ſenſible to attend either to infamous lies, or groſs nonſenſe; and therefore if the diſſenters don't make themſelves contemptible by their own actions, it will be out of the power of all the writers in the nation to make them ſo: they profeſs themſelves whigs, and friends to liberty; let them ſhow themſelves ſuch by oppoſing thoſe, who by every act appear to be neither. The author never intended to oppoſe the diſſenters; he did it, as a parent ſcourges

his child, to ſhow them their folly, and to perſuade them to leave their wicked ways; which if they do, were five thouſand Contraſts daily publiſhed againſt them, it would not do their cauſe the thouſandth part of the harm of No. VII.

B. X. P.

No. 16. Wedneſday, Oct. 12, 1763.

Treaſon and murder ever kept together,
As two yoak-devils ſworn to either's purpoſe;
Working ſo cloſely in a nat'ral cauſe,
That admiration did not whoop at them.

SHAKESPEAR.

I DO not pretend to inſinuate that nations, in a collective view, are anſwerable for the conduct of an individual; yet if a notorious criminal is careſſed and protected by his countrymen in general, it is no injuſtice to impute his crimes to the whole body.

I deſign to conſider the affair of Forbes's intended aſſaſſination of Mr. Wilkes in a public

public light. I ſhall not enter into the private part of the ſtory, whether Forbes was readier to murder Mr. Wilkes than he was to be murdered. I will only ſay, that if their letters were genuine, it is impoſſible to tell whether Forbes is the greater blockhead, or villain: and as to Mr. Wilkes, I always ſuppoſed he had more ſenſe than to think himſelf obliged to fight every renegado that came in his way.

Forbes is by birth a Scot, and a ſubject of the king of Great Britain; he talks of being ſo ſuſceptible of an injury to his country, that he attacks a man only becauſe he ſuppoſed him the author of a paper that has painted the Scotch in their own natural filthy tints; and pretends, that he choſe to riſque his life at ſingle combat in revenge for theſe ſuppoſed inſults. The natural queſtion is, who is this patriotic hero? what has he already done in the ſervice of his country? where has he ſpilt his blood *pro aris & focis?* Theſe kinds of inquiries are unfortunate;

the Scotch hero is his majeſty's ſubject, it is true, but he ſerves the KING'S ENEMIES! he is in the army of France, and receives his pay to ſlaughter his countrymen. The ſword with which he intended to kill Mr. Wilkes was perhaps ſtained with the blood of the brave Howe, or the valiant Wolfe; and the blood-thirſty villain would have added to ITS TRIUMPHS, by deſtroying another true friend of England and its liberties. I think ſome wiſe and learned Scot (for they are amazingly wiſe) will ſay, that he never fought againſt the Engliſh, that he always run away, or that he was in garriſon, or that he has not been long in the ſervice. To any of theſe apologies I anſwer, that if he is in the ſervice of France, and does not do his duty, he is only a double traitor. I ſhall therefore compliment him ſo far as to ſuppoſe he has deſtroyed the Engliſh with fire and ſword, as became a true French ſoldier; and I will then aſk, who, with the greateſt juſtice, ſhould have given the challenge? Mr. Wilkes to Forbes, for

noto-

notoriouſly fighting againſt his country, or Forbes to Mr. Wilkes, on a meer ſuſpicion that he had ridiculed the fag-end of this kingdom, once called Scotland?

However, I own myſelf quite a ſceptic as to Forbes's regard for Scotland: a traitor's regard for his country is like an atheiſt's zeal for religion. I therefore did, and ever ſhall, look on Forbes as an aſſaſſin, hired to deſtroy a perſon not to be bribed nor intimidated, whoſe injuries call for redreſs, and whoſe abilities ſurpaſs a hecatomb of important Scots, and who will ever be a terror to Bute, Daſhwood, dulneſs, and ignorance.

The inveteracy of the Scotch to thoſe that have expoſed their wretched patron, cannot be inſtanced ſtronger, than by their univerſal approbation of this baſe attempt: they were fooliſh enough to ſuppoſe themſelves in poſſeſſion of every thing that was valuable in England, both civil and military, under the auſpices of Bute. The inadequate, Scotch miniſtry, were ſoon expoſed to univerſal contempt, and

the half-ſighted Scotch conceived it to be occaſioned by the political writers; but, alas! it was not the writers, it was their own baſe and mercenary conduct: the writers did not invent thoſe acts of tyranny and oppreſſion, that made them equally dreaded and contemptible: the writers did not extend the exciſe, nor commit Mr. Wilkes; all they did was, to ſet before the public the fatal conſequence to a free ſtate, of ſuffering ſuch actions to paſs without proper and decent reſentment: and unfortunately for the Scotch, it was remembered, that the SHIP-MONEY, and the intended SEIZURE OF THE MEMBERS, were both in the reign of the Scotch Charles the firſt, under a Scotch adminiſtration.

I now come to the moſt extraordinary part of this affair, which is, that the VALIANT FORBES, after being diſmiſſed his traiterous ſervice in France, was bold enough to come into that country, where he was an outlaw and a traitor. DID HE COME TO RECEIVE HIS PAY? or did he come

come to brave Tyburn and Kennington Common? and tell them, that tho' Camerons and Wedderburns have been hanged for being traitors and rebels, yet, in theſe BETTER TIMES, they are as ſafe in London as in Paris, the ſtrange prejudices againſt theſe WORTHIES being laid aſide! The event confirms the ſuſpicion; for when it was found that the people were ſo incenſed at the inſolent bravadoes of the Scotch-French ſoldier, that he would probably have fallen a ſacrifice to the reſentment of the juſtly exaſperated populace, he, inſtead of being ſeized as a traitor, and with propriety committed a cloſe priſoner, till he was brought to the GALLOWS, had a kind meſſage ſent him, to go away, or they ſhould be obliged to take notice of him, in a manner that would be extremely diſagreeable.

If the compounding with a felon is a high crime, the connivance at a traitor muſt be ten times more ſo. I therefore hope, that this piece of extreme civility to members of parliament will be taken

proper notice of, and a worthy gentleman IMPEACHED for his goodneſs.

B. X. P.

No. 17. Wedneſday, Oct. 19, 1763.

Who ſet this ancient quarrel new abroach?

SHAKESPEAR.

THE Scotch, after having done every thing in their power to ſerve themſelves at the expence of the Engliſh, and in all reſpects been totally regardleſs of the welfare of the nation, as well as the individuals, at laſt find themſelves in the diſagreeable ſituation of being univerſally deſpiſed and dreaded; and in this deſperate ſtate endeavour to be exculpated by recriminating and pretending that the Engliſh have alone been the occaſion of the animoſities. I heartily agree with them, that wantonly ſetting the two ends of the nation at variance, is a moſt horrid crime; but I aſſert that the Scotch, and they only, have been the occaſion of this moſt unfortunate quarrel.

There

There is nothing more certain, than that during the long reign of George II. the Scotch had more than their ſhare of power, and profitable employs; and yet, without the leaſt murmuring or diſcontent. The Scotch at that time promoted, were people of real merit, and the Engliſh never denied it, or deſired to have them univerſally excluded. No Engliſhman ever called in queſtion the abilities of a Manſfield, or an Oſwald, or branded them with being upſtarts; ſo far from it, they roſe by a regular gradation, and were always ornaments to the poſts they filled. Since the narrow-ſouled dictator ſeized the helm, ſuch has been the partiality to Scotch, even the moſt worthleſs, that it would have diſguſted a Cherokee, much more an intereſted Engliſhman. A wretched wretch, that was created as the ſtandard of every thing that is paultry, and ſelfiſh, who fawns like the ſpaniel; whoſe exiſtence is as terrible to ſociety as a peſt, and who has added a curſe to that accurſed country that gave him birth, has been exalted over the heads

heads of men of learning and integrity, and this at three years ſtanding, to what an Engliſhman ſcarcely expects at twenty, without any other merit than that of being a TRUE SCOT. Is not that poor, dull, tame Scotch ſcribbler, the author of Agis, king of Sparta, a greater burden by penſion to the public, than all the ENGLISH POETS put together? Has not the pooreſt of the poor taſteleſs painters, becauſe he is a Scot, made a monopoly of his majeſty's picture, and has the profit and honour of the king's portrait painter; tho' the Engliſh arts are at preſent ornamented with the greateſt painter that has exiſted ſince Vandyke? Is it not a well known fact, that in the reign of the late king, ſuch a ſcrupulous regard was paid to the Engliſh univerſities, and the dignity of the learned profeſſions, that no perſon was ever made king's phyſician, but what was a graduate of one of our univerſities, and a fellow of the Royal College; but ſo little regard at preſent is paid to our ſeminaries of learning, that a Scotch ſurgeon

geon to a fiſhing-veſſel, has a poſt that ought to have been conferred on the moſt learned and unexceptionable Engliſh practitioner; and ſo great is the proſtitution of places, that a man of the Roman Catholic religion, (and who by law ought to be excluded, even if he had any merit) is wantonly and indecently preferred. If you will examine the liſts of the army, you will find that in proportion to the number of commiſſioned officers of each nation, there are three to one Scotch field officers to what there are Engliſh. This is mere partiality, and ſhows that the Scotch find greater eaſe to apply to the rulers, and that they are diſpoſed to give them the preference. The moſt hardy Scot cannot pretend, that the Scotch have ſuperior merit in the military capacity; ſo far from it, all the great actions, during the late glorious war, were done by the Engliſh; and thoſe few enterprizes, that were undertaken by the Scotch, proved abortive, by unneceſſary delay, or were fruſtrated by the incapacity of the commanders.

manders. Governorſhips of garriſons are almoſt engroſſed by the Scotch, while many a valiant Engliſhman, who loſt his limbs, or ſpilt his blood before the places they govern, are without their ARREARS, dreaming out a life of deſpair in contempt and beggary, on the poor pittance of a lieutenant's or captain's half-pay.

I apprehend theſe few inſtances of the ſcandalous partiality to the Scotch, are ſufficient to incenſe ſlaves, much more to extort complaints from a free people; a people whoſe characteriſtical privilege, and baſis of their liberty, is the LIBERTY OF THE PRESS: I think it is the greateſt of Scotch tyranny to attempt to deprive us of this. The Scotch have got all that is valuable; let us poor Engliſh amuſe ourſelves in our diſtreſs with railing. Canada was all we got (pardon me, I don't mean WE, I mean all the SCOTCH GOT) by the excellent peace, and they keep it to themſelves; FOUR GOVERNORS appointed, and NOT ONE ENGLISHMAN. The Engliſh gentlemen in profeſſions muſt be ſtoics indeed,

indeed, if they could be cool ſpectators of theſe contempts, inſults and groſs injuries to them and their country! No; I will tell the proud Scot, that though we have been under his ſcourge for theſe two years, we are not yet quite tame, we have ſenſe enough to know we are injured, and we have ſpirit enough to tell our grievances.

As to the complaint made by the Scotch that we have abuſed them for their NASTINESS, I allow it to be extremely true. But I think it ought to be looked on as a favour. I have done it on the ſame principle that a good houſe-wife rubs her dog's noſe in what he has done in her clean parlour, it is not out of the leaſt averſion to the ill-bred puppy, but to make him for the future a clean beaſt. I have no paſſion for filth, being neither a SWINE nor a SCOT; and ſo far from writing about cloſe-ſtools, itch, brimſtone, haggies, &c. for pleaſure, I have done it till I have been almoſt as ſick, as

they

they were angry; but, if they mend, I ſhall not grudge my trouble, becauſe I may in that caſe ſee the time when we may converſe with a Scot without holding our noſes, or ſhake him by the hand without catching the itch, or being bedaubed with brimſtone.

From the public and private tranſactions of the Scotch, I think it remains no doubt, "Who ſet the ancient quarrel new abroach?" and whatever is the conſequence, the Scotch are wholly anſwerable for it: it was their ignorance and tyranny in public affairs, their barbarous partiality and ſelfiſhneſs in private, that has juſtly made them univerſally dreaded and abhorred.

B. X. P.

No. 18. Wedneſday, Oct. 25, 1763.

Poſtremo ſapientes pacis cauſâ bellum gerunt, laborem ſpe otii ſuſtentant. Niſi illam firmam efficis, vinci, an viciſſe quid retulit?
Sall. Orat. ad Cæſ. de Rep. ordinanda.

Hoc fonte derivata clades
In patriam populumque fluxit. HOR.

PUBLIC credit is of very great importance to every ſtate, but to none equal to that of Great Britain; for every trade, manufacture, and neceſſary of life, being already burdened with taxes, and thoſe taxes appropriated to the payment of the intereſt of our national debt, there is no way of ſupporting any extraordinary expence, but by the deſtructive method of borrowing; which cannot be done if our FUNDS SINK INTO CONTEMPT. So that on our public credit, depends our conſequence abroad, our liberty, our trade, our navy, our army, and every other appurte-

purtenance of ſecurity, dignity, and importance.

Since the vaſt increaſe of ſtocks, public and private credit are ſo interwoven, that they are inſeparable, and the one always affects the other: when ſtocks fall, money becomes immediately ſcarce, and is, in reality, of more intrinſic value. The lowneſs of ſtocks not only diſcourages people from ſelling out, to pay their debts, but tempts thoſe that have caſh by them, inſtead of ſatisfying their creditors, to pay it out in the funds, in hopes of a ſpeedy riſe; all which tends to embarraſs the trader. It is a well known fact, that moſt trades of conſequence, are carried on in a great meaſure by credit; and that the reaſon traders, in general, keep caſh at a banker's, is to command diſcount; without which, many great traders muſt become bankrupts. The fall of ſtocks make diſcounts almoſt unattainable, becauſe the bankers either take the advantage of the ſtocks, or lend

their

their money to bulls and bears (in the phraſe of the alley) for time, by which, when ſcrip is at market, they make twenty per cent. per annum of their money. When more money is expected to be raiſed, and the ſtocks fall, it is the intereſt of the bankers, and other monied people, who engroſſed the new ſcrip, to have the ſtocks as low as poſſible, in order to benefit themſelves at the public expence, in getting advantageous terms. In order to accompliſh this, they keep in their money, and by every method endeavour to make it ſcarce, to oblige people to ſell out of the funds, and ſink their value. The unhappy effects of the fall of ſtocks, are not confined to the trader, but equally diſtreſſes the landholder. It deprives him of all poſſibility of borrowing on mortgage, or even ſelling any part of his eſtate. So that the fall of ſtocks, is one of the moſt fatal events that can happen to this kingdom: it ſtagnates trade, and embarraſſes the land-holder; the conſequence of which, is, a general diſcou-

ragement of improvements of every kind. It hinders marriage, by diſabling people from portioning their daughters, and is productive of infinite other evils and diſtreſſes.

At this, or at any other time, when money is to be raiſed, it is ſtill more unfortunate, becauſe if ſtocks fall a tenth part in value, the deficiencies muſt be made up by borrowing a tenth more; by which the debt is unneceſſarily increaſed.

Stocks are at preſent lower than they were at the beginning of the laſt war, notwithſtanding we are in the firſt year of the GLORIOUS SCOTCH PEACE. The only pretence that was made uſe of with any degree of reaſon for being ſo ſolicitous for peace, was the low ſtate of our funds, and the certainty of their riſing, if a tolerable peace was obtained. But alas! the Scotch, and their more contemptible partizans, culled out of the dregs of the Engliſh, now ſee to their utter confuſion, that it is not the name of peace,

peace, that will eſtabliſh our public credit; for though the VALIANT HORSE-GUARDS have eſcorted the POTENT HERALDS, and in all due form declared it a profound peace; though we have had an UNILLUMINATED thankſgiving; and tho' we have the word and honour of the duke de Nevernois, the French ambaſſador, that his maſter hopes the peace will continue for ever; yet it has ſo very GRIM A VISAGE, that if it was not PEACE by proclamation, it might well paſs for WAR. What we have got by the peace, if our funds ſink, is difficult to ſay. The Auditor indeed got FLORIDA-TURF for BARBADOES FIRING; but as this is a private grant, it cannot be called a NATIONAL ADVANTAGE. What we have LOST, will ever be remembered, while the Engliſh have the liberty of narrating the glorious ſucceſſes that attended the adminiſtration of the ABLE, HONEST, FAITHFUL, PITT.

Infinite number of reaſons are aſſigned by ſtate emiſſaries, for the fall of ſtocks; but the miniſterial ſcribblers in general,

lay the ſtreſs, in compliment to themſelves, on the purchaſes made by us of the French, in that very little territory ceded to us by the wonderful peace; (I don't mean little in quantity of Canadian deſarts, but little in value) this they pretend amounts to ſuch vaſt ſums, that the natural conſequence muſt be, the fall of the ſtocks. In the firſt place, I don't believe that the European Engliſh, have made any purchaſes worth mentioning, under the Scotch governments. If purchaſes have been made, it has been by American, or Weſt-Indians: and it is very well known, that there money is not in our ſtocks: beſides, if it had, it would not have made a regular, and moſt aſtoniſhing fall of fifteen per cent. ten of which, has been within theſe two months; but it would have been a temporary fall of one per cent. and the whole fluctuation, as in former times of peace, at moſt two per cent. Their other pretences, if poſſible, are more trifling than this; and ſhow theſe hirelings to be as void

void of invention, as regardleſs of truth. I ſhall therefore ſubmit what I think is moſt undoubtedly the cauſe of this terrible, and alarming misfortune, the ſinking of public credit, and of courſe the embarraſſment of all property.

It evidently proceeds from the contemptible idea the nation in general has of the abilities, and utter abhorrence of the principles of their miniſtry, from théir thorough perſuaſion, that they never will reſign the places they ſo completely diſgrace, till they are compelled; having no ſenſe of ſhame, and being void of all regard to their moſt amiable ſovereign, and the welfare of his affectionate ſubjects; and being ruled by no principle but ſelf-intereſt. Add to this, the terrible apprehenſion foreigners have of the fatal conſequences of theſe inteſtine diviſions; they know the ſpirit of the Engliſh, and they are not unacquainted with their manifold injuries, and inſults, from the wretched upſtarts in office. The French already diſregard their own peace;

the Dutch treat us with unparalleled contempt; the king of Pruſſia in the manner we might expect; and all the world, who in WAR dreaded our frowns, in the Scotch peace deem us too deſpicable for regard. This is the concatination of circumſtances, that make all mankind diffident of our public ſecurities; none applaud, or even approve the Scotch miniſtry, but the mercenary Scots, and they have no money, ſo they cannot influence the funds. The only method of reſtoring the nation, and its credit, to its late ſplendor, is the having an Engliſh miniſtry of known abilities, by whom the king may be ably and faithfully ſerved, and the intereſt of the people not diſregarded.

No. 19. Wedneſday, Nov. 2, 1763.

Hic niger eſt, hunc, tu Romane CAVETO.

HOR.

EVERY action of people in power, or the officers employed by the ſtate, which tends to ſhew their real ſentiments, in regard to the liberty of the ſubject, is a proper and unexceptionable topic for public animadverſion. I ſhall therefore not think myſelf guilty of the leaſt impropriety, by making the extraordinary opinion of the great Norton, on taking people's lamp irons, without giving any valuable conſiderations, the ſubject of this day's Contraſt. The caſe and opinion is as follows.

" In an act paſſed in the firſt year of " his preſent majeſty's reign, for paving, " cleaning, and lighting the ſtreets, " ſquares, and lanes of Weſtminſter, &c. " is the following clauſe, viz. ' And it ' is hereby enacted, that the ſaid com- ' miſſioners, or any five or more of them,

'shall have full power and authority to 'sell and dispose of all or any part of the 'old materials, to such person or persons 'as shall be willing to buy and purchase 'the same, and to apply the purchase 'money to the purpose of this act.'

"The commissioners appointed by the "above act, in order to preserve uniformity in fixing the lamp-irons, have "found it necessary to make the following order.

'Ordered, That wherever a commissioner's lamp is directed to be fixed at a 'door-way, the commissioners shall take 'to themselves, and dispose of the lamp-'iron they shall find at such door, and 'cause to be fixed there a lamp-iron, 'similar to those fixed in other places by 'the Commissioners.'

"Quere. Whether the commissioners "can under the above clause, safely "carry this order into execution?

"I see no great danger in carrying "the order of the commissioners into "execution; for I think I have a right

"to

" to do what has been ordered; and yet " in TIMES LIKE THE PRESENT, when " ſo much oppoſition is given to acts " done by authority, I can hardly tell " how to adviſe the commiſſioners to " execute their order, if it ſhould be " oppoſed by the owners of the lamp- " irons, as it may be made a matter of " clamour, and perhaps of doubt, whe- " ther this is a caſe ſtrictly within the " act."

Lincoln's-Inn,
July 11, 1763. F. NORTON."

Before I enter on the particular merits of the opinion, it will be neceſſary to conſider the nature of the caſe.

The characteriſtic of the Engliſh conſtitution, and in which it excels all others, is the abſolute ſecurity of LIBERTY and PROPERTY, and that in ſo effectual a manner, that it is out of the power of any man in the kingdom, let his ſtation be ever ſo great, to infringe, with impunity, the liberty or property of the meaneſt ſubject.

ſubject. This is the ſpirit, this the deſign of all our conſtitutional laws, from Magna Charta, down to this day; and particularly at the glorious revolution, when our liberties were retrieved from the tyranny and oppreſſion of the Stuarts, and once more eſtabliſhed on their original baſis. It is a well known maxim, that the "king can do no wrong;" but our excellent conſtitution has ſecured us from injury, even from the crown, by making the miniſters of ſtate anſwerable, with their HEADS, for their advice to their maſter. The ſecurity of property in this happy kingdom, is held ſo ſacred, that the parliament cannot diveſt an innocent ſubject of any part of his effects, without giving him a valuable conſideration, and that not to be determined by a ſtate tool, but by a jury; and even this has never been done by compulſatory laws, but in caſes of the greateſt neceſſity, ſuch as the making new or enlarging old avevenues, road-acts, and the acts for building Weſtminſter and Black-Friars bridges, &c.

&c. Though road-acts give a liberty to cut new roads thro' any perſon's lands, it is never without paying them to the utmoſt, and repairing all kind of damages; and all road-acts prohibit the carrying the roads thro' gardens, yards, or any property of that ſort. In caſes, where application has been made to parliament, for alterations of a private nature, no law has ever paſt that could be deemed compulſatory; becauſe the bills have always been flung out, if all the party's conſent could not be obtained.

As to the commiſſioner's right, under this act, to ſell the old pavements, I believe it cannot be doubted. But the pavements and lamp irons are as different as any two things can well be. The ſtreets are the common high-ways; and tho' it has been the cuſtom in London and other great towns, to make people pave before their own doors, yet that gave them no more property in the pavements, than when it was a parochial duty, and they only contributed to the whole; ſo that

that when the repairing the ſtreets is put in another mode, and the inhabitants excuſed from repairing before their houſes, it is certain they have nothing to do with, nor intereſt in, the old pavements. But the lamp-irons are abſolutely private property, as much as paliſadoes, leaden-gutters, or any other external parts of houſes. If this great lawyer is ſo clear in giving away people's lamp-irons, I ſhould be exceedingly glad to know the reaſon why he did not alſo give the lamps, as I can conceive no reaſon why they ſhould not go together. The commiſſioners put an iron, ſo I ſuppoſe they intend to do a lamp. The original iron is rendered uſeleſs by the commiſſioners, ſo is the lamp, yet neither of theſe reaſons ſeem ſufficient for a man's parting with his lamp and irons, except the commiſſioners will abſolutely veſt theirs in return; becauſe as long as they are the commiſſioners, they can move them at pleaſure; and the perſon who gives up his lamps and irons to-

day,

day, may next week be obliged to buy more.

Having ſubmitted theſe few obſervations on the impoſſibility of any power in this kindom taking away private property, without a valuable conſideration, I ſhall proceed to the learned opinion which is couched in ſuch ſly and CONTRADICTORY terms, that had it not been dated from Lincoln's-inn, I ſhould have thought it had come from St. Omers.

This ſage of the law "ſees no great "danger in carrying the order of the "commiſſioners into execution; for he "thinks they have a right to do what "they have ordered." This muſt be ridiculous, and is in the true jeſuitical ſtile. If it is right, there can be NO DANGER, and if wrong, there is the GREATEST danger; becauſe the owners of the lamp-irons may defend their property to the utmoſt: ſo that if they have no right, it will be at the peril of life, by which it is evident the expreſſion of, "no GREAT "danger," is abſurd.

The

The next ſentence is what we may call a political excreſſence, and is as ill adapted to a lawyer's opinion as a ſermon "And yet, ſays he, in times like the "preſent, when ſo much oppoſition is "given to acts done by authority, I can "hardly tell how to adviſe the commiſ-"ſioners to excute their order." If the commiſſioners want to take private property, I believe it will be very difficult for all the troop of lawyers from the Old Baily. Hickes's-hall, and the King's Bench, to put them into a ſafe method of accompliſhing their end. But why this curious reflection on the times? Have the people oppoſed any legal authority? No. I believe ſo far from it, the people have ſubmitted to more real injuries during the adminiſtration of the tory Scot, and his dregs, and other champions for paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, than Engliſhmen ever ſubmitted to, ſince it was a kingdom. Was the printers ſeeking a legal redreſs for their falſe impriſonment, an oppoſition to AUTHORITY?

THORITY? Was the citizens of London's truly conſtitutional remonſtrance againſt the cruel extenſions of the exciſe, an oppoſition to AUTHORITY? Are people to be ſtigmatized with oppoſing authority, becauſe they do not approve of being tyranized over, and having every thing that is valuable given to theſe ITINERANT SCOTS? What he means, he is wiſe enough to conceal, but I will give him opinion for opinion, and tell him, that when people in power abuſe their authority, the people have not only a right, but it is their duty to remonſtrate againſt ſuch proceedings, and when they find the king's ear abuſed by bad men, they have a right to petition for their removal. To proceed with the opinion.

"He can hardly tell how to adviſe "the commiſſioners to execute their or-"der, if it ſhould be oppoſed by the "owners of the lamp-irons, as it may be "made a matter of clamor, and perhaps "of doubt, whether this is a caſe ſtrict-"ly within the act." If they have a right

right to do what is ordered, how can it be made a matter of doubt? And as to this mirror of law being at a loſs to adviſe them how to execute the order, if oppoſed by the owners of the lamp-irons, I can conceive nothing ſo eaſy (that is ſuppoſing they have a right) which is to ſend for a conſtable, and carry the opponents before a magiſtrate, who will commit them to priſon; and if a whole neighbourhood ſhould join in defence of their lamp-irons, read the riot-act, and if that will not diſperſe them, ſend for the guards, and fire.

This the moſt excellent opinion, which would have done HONOR to the memory of lord chancellor Jeffries, chief juſtice Wright, or judge Allibone. I own myſelf much at a loſs what to admire moſt, the tender regard to PRIVATE PROPERTY, the zeal for our CONSTITUTION, the extenſive knowledge of LEGAL principles, or the CLEARNESS and PRECISION of his directions to the commiſſioners.

As

As political writers ought not to be totally ignorant of the law, I will take the liberty of giving my opinion, in all due form, and if the commiſſioners approve of it, they may pay the author the firſt time he comes in their way.

The Contraſt's opinion on the above caſe.

"I apprehend there is no power in "this kingdom that can take private "property, without making them am- "ple ſatisfaction; and if any ſuch at- "tempt was made, the parties have an "undoubted right to defend that pro- "perty to the utmoſt, whether a lamp- "iron, or a bank note of a million."

Temple, Oct. 24, 1763. The CONTRAST.

No. 20. Wedneſday, Nov. 16, 1763.

Sin valuerint tantum leges, ut ne ſint ambitus: habeat ſane populus tabellam, quaſi vindicem libertatis, dum modo hæc optimo cuique, et graviſſimo civi oſtendatur, ultroque offeratur, uti in eo ſit ipſa libertas, in qua populo poteſtas honeſte bonis gratificandi datur. CICERO.

IT is univerſally allowed, that the Engliſh conſtitution is the moſt unexceptionable form of human governments. By blending monarchy, ariſtocracy and democracy, they ſo temper each other, that as long as no one of the parts is ſuffered to grow too ſtrong, and gain an aſcendency over the others, ſo long we are certain to enjoy our liberty.

The executive part of the law is equally excellent; for nothing can ſo effectually ſecure to us our liberty and property as juries, who are the ſole judges of facts; while the judges are ſtrictly bound to keep to the letter of the law, and affix the legal puniſhments, after the juries have found the crime. By which means the wicked endeavours of corrupt

admi-

adminiſtrations, aided by temporizing judges to enſlave the people, or oppreſs individuals, have been for the moſt part fruſtrated.

As this is the baſis of ou liberty, and as by theſe means we have for many centuries been enabled to baffle every attempt to deſtroy the juſtly-admired equilibrium between the crown and the people, by extending the prerogative; ſo it ſeems exceedingly ſurpriſing, that at this day there ſhould be any inſtance, where the people are excluded from their juſt rights of determing the facts, previous to a condemnation, which is abſolutely the caſe in proceeding againſt a libel, and in any ſuppoſed offence againſt the exciſe.

When a perſon is proſecuted for a libel againſt the ſtate, it is always by information, which is undoubtedly an innovation in this conſtitution, being a ſubſtitute for an indictment, in no reſpect conſiſtent with the ſpirit of our laws; and was unknown in this country, till the ſuppreſſion of the ſtar-chamber, when the officers of ſtate thought it neceſſary

to have ſome method of commencing proſecutions againſt the people without their immediate conſent, which is the caſe when indictments are to be found by the grand jury. An information filed by the attorney general is without any previous motion of court: ſo that a proſecution againſt any perſon, or upon any account whatever, is commenced at pleaſure; though no ſentence can be obtained without a conviction by a jury: yet when you conſider the ſtate doctrine relating to libels, which is, that the jury are not to enter into the merits of the paper, whether it does or does not contain the illegal matter laid in the information, but only to find the ſingle fact of the publication. I believe it muſt appear to every rational man, that the jury by theſe doctrines are made mere cyphers; and that a man accuſed of writing a libel, is preſented to the court for puniſhment, without the opinion of his peers being taken on his offence, which is a groſs infringement of that valuable appendage to Engliſh liberty.

This,

This, I apprehend, is an oppreſſive method of proceeding, that loudly calls for redreſs; for though every individual in the kingdom may be thoroughly ſatiſfied with the preſent judges, yet it never was the intention of our laws to let the judges determine facts, but only to direct in points of law, and aſſiſt in digeſting evidence. The judges are ſtrictly bound to the letter of the law, in almoſt every caſe regarding the liberty of the ſubject, and the laws have affixed the puniſhments for each crime: but in this important affairs of libels, on which the liberty of the preſs ſo immediately depends, the puniſhment is in the breaſt of the court, to ſlit noſes, cut off ears, pillor, fine and impriſon.

That the crown cannot turn out judges to obtain particular ends at this time, as it did formerly, I am well apprized: but though the power of turning out the good is denied, yet no law ſecures us from having bad, corrupt, ignorant, or wicked tools of ſtate, appointed on any vacancy by death, reſignation or promo-

tion: from which it is apparent that no privilege of the ſubject ſhould be given up even to theſe our excellent judges, leſt their ſucceſſors are not fit to be confided in.

From the high importance of the liberty of the preſs to this ſtate, I hope every jury-man, in all future proſecutions, WILL EXERT HIS UNDOUBTED PRIVILEGE OF DETERMINING THE FACT. If any ſubject is guilty of writing libels, or ſedition, every good man muſt think himſelf happy to have an opportunity of preſenting him to puniſhment; but I hope he will always ſee with his OWN eyes, and not give a man up to DESTRUCTION, on the mere ipſe dixit of an attorney general.

No. 21. Wedneſday, Nov. 23, 1763.

That JEMMY TWITCHER *ſhould* PEACH ME,
I own ſurpriſed me!——'Tis a plain proof that the world is all alike, and that even our gang can no more truſt one another than other people. BEGGAR'S OPERA.

THERE is no ſituation half ſo vexatious, as to have that to do, which

for

for your life you can't do. Dear brother politician, an't this true? Yes, I juſt recollect, that, madam, your wife, will ſay, that it is as bad to want to have that done, that ſhe can't get done. I believe madam is right; however, right or wrong, out of regard to the ladies, I will not diſpute it; hoping ſhe'll allow, that a man of ſpirit, principle, and honour, cannot be well in a worſe ſituation, than not to be able to do his duty, whether it is fighting, writing, or any thing elſe, that her more lively imagination will bring to her recollection. This has been the ſituation of the poor Contraſt: he was ſo diſcompoſed by the duel on Wedneſday ſev'nnight, that although he has done every thing in his power, ſuch as ſcratching his head, biting his nails, walking round and round the room, and even whiſtling, he han't been able to produce a paper for to-day. If the conſequence of writing is PERSECUTION, PROSECUTION, and having LEAD in your guts, I think the liberty of the preſs will

be a dormant privilege; why, a man ought to be an Achilles, and have been dipt in the Styx to write politics, if he cannot mention man or horſe without going to Hyde Park, or Bagſhot. I have another thing hangs heavy on my mind. Not long ſince, a certain great man, I don't mean great in any good qualities, I only mean great by hereditary right, a greatneſs that would have deſcended even to Mr. Buckhorſe, ſuppoſing his father had had a patent for it. I ſay, this great man, or little man, or if you pleaſe, this great man by birth, and little man by actions, not long ſince, took me to the pious ſociety of gentlemen and chriſtians, known by the title of the Beef-ſteak Club, where, inſtead of puting on the inſolence of office, or the ſuperciliouſneſs of a peer, he in all reſpects reduced himſelf to a ſtandard of a link boy; and was ſo obliging to ſing, UNASKED, about two hundred ſongs, ſo replete with blaſphemy and obſcenity, that if God or devil had been ever heard of by the ſociety, they muſt have all run out of the room. When I ſay ſing, I don't mean that it

was

was muſical, or harmonious, being a kind of noiſe that reſembled that of a ſwine's melody in a ſtorm; or a cat chaunting on the tiles; or a dog ſinging a catch at the corner of a ſtreet, when he has loſt his maſter; or more properly, all three in concert, aided by a knife grinder, and a ſaw-ſetter. But to return from this digreſſion. What hangs heavy on my mind, is, leſt I ſhould be deemed by ſome tool, an acceſſary for hearing him ſing blaſphemy and obſcenity, what would become of me then? I already ſtand convicted of the worſt of crimes that at this time can be committed, that of moſt heartily deſpiſing the preſent contemptible, wretched hodge-podge; deſpiſing the repreſentatives of a tyrant Scot; thoſe who, for preſent pay and future penſions, put in execution the Scot's moſt ſanguine wiſhes to cruſh his opponents; I then, however unjuſtly, might be under perſecution for writing diſagreeable facts againſt the miniſtry; and, to conclude, ſhould have a challenge from ſome gentleman juſt out of a month's training,

training, who would aim ſo well at my guts that he would hit a button.

If a ſet of wretches commanding the revenues of the whole nation, are reſolved on the ruin of an individual; if they will purſue the meaneſt artifices for his deſtruction; if they will, by illegal means, ranſack his inmoſt receſſes; if the companions of his hours of mirth and jollity will turn traitors to the moſt ſacred of all human ties, private friendſhip, and inform for proſecution, what was whiſpered as a boſom friend; I fear he muſt fall a victim to ſuch a concatination of oppreſſions, and all he can expect, when ſome ſtate tool has deprived him of life, is to have his name revered by poſterity, as a bold aſſertor of Engliſh liberty, who neither valued life or fortune, when put in competition with freedom. He muſt expect every puniſhment in this life that malice can ſuggeſt; but nothing can deprive him of the greateſt of all rewards, public eſtimation! He will be remembered with the awful veneration

neration of a Sidney, a Ruſſel, or a Hampden, who met death on the ſcaffold and in the field, rather than be the tame, quiet ſpectators of their COUNTRY's RUIN.

To the POLITICAL DUELLISTS.

The author of the Contraſt gives this public notice, that he is going out of town to practice ſhooting at a target, and that he alſo intends to take a few leſſons of the ſmall ſword; he already is maſter of the quarter ſtaff, and boxing, ſo that in leſs than a month, he hopes to accommodate any "ANGRY BOY" with a ball in his guts; running him through the body; breaking his head; or drubbing him, which ever is moſt agreeable. Challenges (POST PAID) to fight a month after date, directed to Mr. Surecard, at the Ink Bottle in Grub ſtreet, will be attended to.

N. B. If he goes above a mile from the ſtones end, he expects travelling charges.

No.

No. 22. Wedneſday, Nov. 30, 1763.

Judge not that ye be not judged: for with what judgment ye judge ye ſhall be judged: and with what meaſure ye mete, it ſhall be meaſured to you again. MATTHEW vii. 1, 2.

THE moſt contemptible of the human ſpecies, are temporizers; wretches, who look, ſpeak, and act, in ſtrict conformity to the times; are rigid chriſtians, when well paid for it, and will deny their God for reward; whig or tories; revolutioniſts or Jacobites; turning, like the well-poiſed weathercock, with the leaſt gale of preferment; and whoſe prevailing principle, is ſubſervience to office. But if, among theſe miſcreants, there is a ſuperiority of infamy, it is to thoſe eccleſiaſtics, who proſtitute the pulpit to the private views and intrigues of a weak and wicked miniſtry. It is thoſe eccleſiaſtics, who, inſtead of teaching their audiences their duty to God and man, make

make their diſcourſes the vehicles of the baſeſt of ſtate doctrines, and the channel of abuſe of thoſe diſintereſted patriots, who prefer the real intereſt of their king and country to their own private emolument, by place or penſion, when the condition is their acquieſcing in their country's ruin.

That ſuch infamous wretches have been in former times, witneſs the traytor Shaw, who was ſo abandoned as to endeavour to prejudice his audience againſt the promiſing young prince Edward the fifth, in order to promote that bloody uſurper, Richard the third. That they have been ſo in the preſent century, witneſs that moſt contemptible of ſtate-emiſſaries, Sacheverel. Yet the baſeneſs of former times never prejudiced me againſt the preſent. I hoped the clergy, to a man, would have done their duty as good chriſtians and honeſt men, without becoming the partizans of a ſinking, contemptible, tory Scot. I honour and love the clergy, and will do ſo as long as they

they remain chriſtians and patriots. I mean no reflection on the whole body, when I expoſe an individual to public contempt; and I make no doubt, but the whole profeſſion will applaud the laying open a falſe brother.

Sunday was fortnight I accidentally walked into one of the firſt places of worſhip in this metropolis, expecting to be inſtructed in my duty; but to my great ſurpriſe, found that the preſent party feuds had excluded chriſtianity, and the whole attention of the preacher was employed in invalidating the merit of the oppoſition, by abuſing an oppreſſed man, condemning him UNHEARD, that his crimes entailed infamy on the whole party. He divided his diſcourſe into three parts; the firſt, againſt blaſphemy; the ſecond, on the heinouſneſs of inſulting the king; and the third, on a more delicate point, with which the public could have little concern, that of his private behaviour to his wife.

That

That each of theſe is a great crime, I will readily allow; but in proportion to the enormity of the crimes, every honeſt man would be more than ordinary cautious of prejudicing mankind againſt a ſuppoſed criminal, who was ſoon to be brought to trial. The aſſize-preacher at Oxford, who preached againſt parricide, the day the unfortunate miſs Blandy was to be tried, and ſo incenſed the people againſt the miſerable, unheard culprit, that innocent or guilty, ſhe was devoted to deſtruction, was univerſally cenſured by every man who regarded juſtice. It is a maxim in law, conſiſtent with the ſtricteſt juſtice and good ſenſe, that every perſon ſhould be ſuppoſed innocent till found otherwiſe by his peers: and a man muſt be void of chriſtianity, humanity, decency, and common regard to the laws of his country, who could endeavour to incenſe a body of people againſt a perſon, who was in a ſhort time to come before the tribunal of juſtice, and perhaps, thoſe very people to be his judges.

But

But what a horrid aggravation muſt it be to the crimes of ſuch a time-ſerving preacher, if he knew that the perſon, he was for reward abuſing, was abſolutely innocent of the blaſphemy; that the work referred to was wrote by a ſon of the church; and that the whole crime of the perſon he proſtituted the pulpit to abuſe, was, keeping that, at the deſire of a deceaſed friend, which his regard to the living ought to have made him commit to the flames! keeping for the entertainment of a ſet of JEMMY Twitchers, which the Twitchers are making the inſtrument of his deſtruction.

The ſecond objecton ſo artfully uſed to prejudice mankind againſt this perſon, whoſe zeal for liberty has made him ſuſpected of going indecent lengths in oppoſition to the ſervants of the crown, is a matter to be tried; and therefore, the Contraſt, who is equally zealous for the royal prerogative, and the juſt liberties of the ſubject, will leave this to be debated before, and determined by, the

the proper judges, a free and impartial ENGLISH JURY.

The meanly taking an opportunity in a public pulpit to declaim againſt a man for private tranſactions, ſetting him in the moſt obnoxious light for his behaviour to his wife, when the preacher is entirely ignorant of the fact, and does not know whether the ſeparation was obtained by the intereſted ſchemes, and baſe intrigues of a few peeviſh, old, ill-natured relations, as is often the caſe, is what ill becomes a chriſtian preacher, a gentleman, a man of honour, or a man of common honeſty.

I own the preſent malevolence of the people in power to their opponents is a very alarming circumſtance; the little arts made uſe of by their emiſſaries to prejudice mankind againſt thoſe who are ſuppoſed to be the champions of liberty, is what ought to put every friend of our conſtitution on his guard, not to give credit to what is reported, without being better ſupported than by the mere aſſer-

tions of an intereſted party, who, with one hand, ſupport the moſt abandoned and profligate that ever diſgraced a free country; and with the other declaim againſt vice in an individual, whoſe principal crime, and moſt ſuſpicious part of his character, is, being once the beloved friend and companion of theſe HYPOCRITICAL WRETCHES.

Whatever are the crimes of either party, I moſt ſincerely wiſh they may be puniſhed with that proper and decent ſeverity that is conſiſtent with our laws: but it muſt give the greateſt pain to every man of integrity to ſee the laws ſtrained to puniſh one ſet of men, while another is tolerated and protected in crimes ten times more enormous.

I alſo hope, that every honeſt man will publicly ſhew a deteſtation of the clergy's laying aſide teaching chriſtianity, to become inculcators and promoters of ſtate doctrines, though oppreſſive and inconſiſtent with liberty; and that ſuch clergy will find themſelves ſo univerſally deteſted,

deteſted, as to prefer being honeſt chriſtians, tho' poor, to any inſtalled dignitary obtain'd by intrigue. B. X. P.

No. 23. Wedneſday, Dec. 7, 1763.

Facts, Obſervations, and Reflections.

"SINCE laws were made for every "degree, to curb vice in others as "well as in me," I wonder the AUDITOR, BRITON, PLAIN-DEALER, and the other works of dull, lying, impudent, ſilly, coxcomical, ſuperficial, pimping, paultry, WELL-PAID ſcribblers, have not been ſent to the Royal Exchange to be burnt for their infamous and wicked works, as well as the NORTH-BRITON for his.

BLASPHEMY at preſent ſeems to be conſidered by ſome as both a VIRTUE and a VICE; for of two perſons of the ſame extraordinary ſociety, who are accuſed of this horrid crime, one is rewarded, and the other deſtined to puniſhment; ſo that if there was no life

hereafter, I would bring my ſon up to the BLASPHEMY way of buſineſs, as it ſeems at leaſt an even chance for ſucceſs; whereas, in other profeſſions, it is twenty to one againſt him.

The reverend Mr. Kidgell, rector of Hornechurch, Surry, BLASPHEMY-CATCHER, has got more by publiſhing a narrative of blaſphemy, than all the rectors in England by preaching againſt it. "The "Lord reward him according to his "work!"

From much labour, and hard ſtudy, I am enabled to make an obſervation with ſome degree of certainty; which is, that when any man would puniſh thoſe crimes in others which he is guilty of himſelf, it muſt be from ſiniſter views, and not out of regard to the public.

The moſt alarming circumſtance in life is, to have bad men put on the appearance of good; hypocriſy being a refinement on the devil.

This well guarded government has been expoſed to three evils, a tyrannical king, an

an over-bearing miniſtry, and an enraged populace. By the firſt, the conſtitution was nearly ruined in the reign of James the ſecond. A bad miniſtry has in many reigns endangered the liberty of the people; and the third has been experienced to be formidable, and almoſt uncontroulable; witneſs the caſe of Watt Tyler, and ſome others; which nearly ſubverted government.

Hiſtory ſcarcely gives us an inſtance of the ſpirit of the people being thoroughly and deliberately tried, except in the reign of Charles the firſt; and then, as it will be always likely to happen, the great people, who were few in number, gave way to the ſuperior numbers of thoſe little people, whom they ſo thoroughly deſpiſed.

The moſt effectual method of promoting virtue, is never to ſuffer any man to be employed in the ſtate, but who has an unexceptionable character in private life.

A great Scotch duke, whoſe advanced age and good ſenſe made him neither expect nor wiſh for too great a Scotch influence, ſaid, on being told that a certain lord was to be prime miniſter, and firſt lord of the treaſury, "That if the Scotch "ever attempted to rule in England, a "Scotchman would become ſo odious as "to be inſulted in the ſtreets." This prediction was in ſome degree verified on a late and extraordinary occaſion in Cornhill.

Good and bad miniſters wiſh for the ſuppreſſion of the liberty of the preſs; becauſe the good think it unneceſſary, and an inſtrument in the hands of the people to miſrepreſent their actions to the world. And bad ones have found it by experience to be their never-failing overthrow.

All exceſſive ſtate-proceedings have been occaſioned by writers aſſerting the liberty of the ſubject in oppoſition to a miniſtry.

The liberty of the preſs ought never to be reſtrained, if it was only for this ſingle reaſon, that it is the only method by

by which a reigning prince can obtain the true ſenſe of the people; becauſe it is the intereſt, and has always been the practice of bad miniſters to deceive their royal maſters, and repreſent themſelves the darlings of the people, when they were in the greateſt degree otherwiſe.

There may be thoſe who, in order to ſecure their own power, are for having the people tamed; but experience ſhould evince, that what cannot be accompliſhed by ſecret craft, will never be effected by open force, as violence begets violence; ſo that all applications of it muſt ever be wrong policy.

B. X. P.

No. 24. Wedneſday, Dec. 14, 1763.

The Fare-well CONTRAST.

Primum tempori cedere, id eſt, neceſſitati parere, ſemper ſapientis eſt habitum.
—— *dicere fortaſſe, quæ ſentias, non licet:*
TACERE PLANE LICET.

Cicero Epiſt.

THIS day the CONTRAST makes his Exit. Alas, poor paper! Call for it to-morrow, and the waiter will cry, "Contraſt, Sir, the Contraſt is dead, "Sir; died yeſterday, Sir; nipp'd in the "bud, Sir; only twenty-four, Sir; and "like the North Briton departed: Aye, "Sir, we muſt all die.—Coming coffee: "—Well, Lord reſt his ſoul, he was an "honeſt fellow."

The certain account of the Contraſt's death, will not ſatisfy the curious politician; he muſt know how he died, and why he died. I think I hear ſome learned Mr. Quid-nunc, whoſe concern for the welfare

welfare of the nation brings him, in greaſy night-cap and ſlippers, to coffee and politics, as ſoon as it is light, ſhake his head, and ſay, " I thought he could not " hold long: the late proceedings might " well frighten him into ſilence: if he " wan't afraid of Forbes's ſword, or Dun's " knife, nor of being ſhot at in Hyde-" Park, or Bagſhot; yet he could not be " regardleſs of his liberty: he would not " chuſe to be a cloſe priſoner, and treated " with a ſeverity unknown to a REBEL " SCOT; or have his houſe ranſacked, " and his papers lugged off in a bag; " and even his own ſervants taught and " bribed to betray him, and then ſome " PIOUS REVEREND, publiſh the contents " of his inmoſt receſſes, in order to " entail INFAMY ON HIS POLITICS. If " maſter Contraſt regarded his ears and " noſe, I always ſaid he would ſoon have " done writing againſt the Scotch; ani-" madverting on LAMP-IRON OPINIONS, " and talking of JEMMY TWITCHER'S " eating BEEF-STEAKS with blaſphemy " ſauce.

" ſauce. I own I am ſorry he is dead
" without giving us his thoughts of the
" propriety of the doctor and ſurgeon
" being ſent, we know where; but the
" poor Contraſt is tamed, and ſo there is
" an end of him." To theſe unjuſt ideas of his retiring from the public ſervice at this TRULY CRITICAL JUNCTURE, the Contraſt anſwers, That it was neither fear of perſecution, aſſaſſination, nor a challenge from a ſix months practitioner at a target, that has deterred him from ſubmitting with a freedom that becomes an honeſt, independant Engliſhman, his ſentiments of men and actions; but his only reaſon for declining the paper, is, that the neceſſary caution of the printer, " in " times LIKE THE PRESENT," has prevented his doing it with that freedom and regularity that he uſed to do; and in this unfortunate ſituation of affairs, he thinks it more conſiſtent with the true ſpirit of liberty, to take ſome other method of conveying his thoughts, where they may appear unmangled and untamed; where the

the author may be free from all reſtraints, but thoſe which RESTRAIN every good and honeſt man, his duty to GOD and the KING, and obedience to the LAWS of his COUNTRY.

The author holds it the moſt diſagreeable employ, both for his readers and himſelf, to talk of his own works, but on this occaſion pleads cuſtom. It has never been denied a poor departing criminal, to make a laſt DYING SPEECH and confeſſion, and therefore he hopes he ſhall not be the firſt. That he is a criminal, all muſt allow, and that of the moſt enormous kind: for he diſapproves of hypocriſy and tyranny; and dared to ſay, that AGIS, KING of SPARTA, was a poor, dull, ridiculous, contemptible performance, which no man would have ſeen a ſecond time, much more FIVE TIMES, except there had been undue influence. He has ſaid, that SCOTCH DULNESS is better rewarded than ENGLISH MERIT. As he pleads guilty to theſe high crimes, he acknowledges

knowledges the ſevereſt of ENGLISH PUNISHMENTS, a real SCOTCH MERCY.

He ſet out, and hopes, he has ever been a real friend of liberty, and never a champion of licentiouſneſs. He had no connections with, or prejudices againſt either party. That he has condemned the actions of the Scotch miniſtry, is true, and ſo has every independant, honeſt man of common underſtanding! But he has never applauded, or even gave the ſlighteſt ſanction to indecent factious inſults on monarchy. He wiſhes the people to retain their liberties, as long as the ſun endures, but hopes they will never aſk one privilege that is INCONSISTENT with the JUST prerogatives of the crown; or that we ſhall ever have a king, that would be BASE enough to take from the people, or WEAK enough to give up his own JUST RIGHTS.

The actions of the Scotch miniſtry were ſo illegal, imprudent, raſh and ridiculous, that even rational Scotchmen bluſhed at them,

them, and ſaw them boding their ruin. They were conſcious, that no kingdom in Europe would tamely ſubmit to ſuch groſs injuries, merely to gratify the inſatiable vanity of one conceited, ſuperficial, inadequate, SELF-MADE MINISTER. That no kingdom would ſubmit to have their beſt and ableſt ſtateſmen excluded, and their places filled with thoſe whoſe former actions in public and private, had made them juſtly obnoxious; or who were called from the dregs of the people, only becauſe they were "obedient, very obe-"dient," as ready to do the action, as receive the reward. Theſe have been, from time to time, the ſubjects for the Contraſt; and though he has treated them with that conſtitutional freedom that became a free-born Engliſhman, yet he is not conſcious of having been guilty of a licentiouſneſs that too often diſgraces the darling attribute of this kingdom, the liberty of the preſs. He has confined his animadverſions to the immediate affairs of the ſtate, and has never ranſacked hiſtory for

for diſagreeable ſtories, leaving mankind to make their own unjuſt concluſions; neither is he conſcious of having endeavoured to diminiſh the very LITTLE MERIT of the people IN POWER. Though it is impoſſible for words to deſcribe his utter abhorrence and contempt of the Scot, as a ſtateſman; he has ſo far from repreſenting him in a diſagreeable light in private life, always mentioned him with reſpect.

He hopes he ſhall be pardoned for having thus long prated of himſelf, and now takes his leave of the public, moſt ſincerely wiſhing, they may ſoon be the united, happy people they were, when his majeſty aſcended the throne! that he may have an ABLE and HONEST miniſtry, who rule by AFFECTION, rather than by the ROD OF IRON! and that all papers of both ſides may become dormant; even the long-winded Monitor, ceaſe to tell OLD STORIES ſo long, ſo dull, ſo heavy, that one ſhould ſuppoſe he ſold his works by weight or meaſure; and that the Plain-Dealer

-Dealer may receive, like the Auditor, his three hundred pounds, the wages of iniquity, and be ſilent! and that the people who either abuſe the ear of their amiable ſovereign, or by artifices miſlead the people, may each be rewarded with a HALTER! THUS PRAYS THE DYING CONTRAST, who can, with a ſafe conſcience, ſay, that he never had other views than the ſervice of his KING and COUNTRY.

B. X. P.

FINIS.